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Project ABC is a precollege talent search program that provides academically able, motivated disadvantaged youth with scholarships to private secondary schools, after an intensive summer transitional program. In an evaluation study of 82 disadvantaged boys, predominantly Negroes, who entered in the program in 1965, it was found that (1) the boys' academic records ranged from complete failure to outstanding success, (2) test-retest data on the Otis I.Q. and Cooperative English tests showed that the boys made no appreciable gains over a 2-year period, (3) overall the students made a satisfactory school adjustment, and psychological inventory scores showed statistically significant changes for the boys, who seemed to become more tense, yet more self-assured, (4) social adjustment and academic performance were highly correlated (.56), and (5) by the beginning of the fourth year 26 percent of the boys had dropped out, 60 percent for academic reasons and 40 percent for adjustment difficulties. The research design included similar testing and evaluation of a comparable group of disadvantaged students who remained in their home high schools. For reports on the ABC transitional summer program see ED 011 017, ED 020 288, and ED 024 698. (EF)

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April 1969

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

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EVALUATION OF PROJECT ABC (A BETTER CHANCE)

An Evaluation of Dartmouth College - Independent Schools Scholarship Program for Disadvantaged High School Students

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April 1969

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The study was supported by the Bureau of Research, U.S. Office of Education, and by Dartmouth College. Without the fine understanding and strong committment of Dartmouth to a full and meaningful evaluation this work could not have been completed, - this support in trying circumstances was deeply appreciated.

Beyond these major contributors, many additional people helped, including: Project ABC staff, teachers and resident tutors; Headmasters, staff, and faculty at the 39 Independent schools included in the study; ABC resource workers in communities throughout the country; and Dartmouth undergraduate research assistants. The nature of their many contributions will become clear in this report.

Most important and rewarding were the contributions of the ABC students themselves whose candor and directness in sharing their experiences and feelings was essential to this evaluation. Obviously this work is dedicated to them.

Summary of final report
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SUMMARY

EVALUATION OF PROJECT ABC (A BETTER CHANCE)
An Evaluation of Dartmouth College - Independent Schools Scholarship Program for Disadvantaged High School Students

BACKGROUND. Project ABC (A Better Chance) was established in 1963 by 21 independent secondary schools and Dartmouth College with the support of the Rockefeller Foundation. It is a talent search and scholarship program that provides promising disadvantaged high school students with full scholarships to secondary schools, predominantly private, where it is anticipated they will receive better educational opportunities. The first group of students entered the summer transitional program at Dartmouth in 1964. During the initial 5-year period, 1963-1968, Project ABC has enrolled 1218 disadvantaged students, predominantly Negro, and expanded to include 5 colleges offering the summer transitional program, and 106 private and 8 public secondary schools which the students enter for the remainder of their high school education.

The program is unusual in many respects. It seeks to recruit and help talented and promising disadvantaged students who, though they may have been handicapped by previous poor schooling, have shown scholastic potential and strong motivation. Thus students selected are rather special and unusual. Also it differs from most other summer programs for compensatory education in that it does not return these disadvantaged students to their home high schools in the fall, but instead provides all of them who do sufficiently well with full scholarships to enter private secondary schools. The costs of the program are high, averaging about $7,000-$15,000 for the 2 to 4-year period that most students continue in the program. The transfer of promising disadvantaged students from their local schools to private schools with a very different academic and social character makes this program of particular interest. It was felt that research on the consequences of such marked change would be of significance in assessing the effects of marked environmental change in compensatory education programs. And in its own right, it was very necessary to carefully assess the results and consequences of a program that so greatly altered the lives of its students.

RESEARCH DESIGN. This evaluation study aims to present candidly and assess realistically the operation and results of Project ABC. Account is given of the development and nature of the program; the selection and characteristics of the students; and the scholastic, social, and personal consequences. To accomplish these aims a careful research study was made of an entering class of 82 disadvantaged boys who began the ABC summer transitional program at Dartmouth College in 1965 and entered 39 different preparatory schools that fall. The study collected a large amount of information on characteristics of the entering students and followed their subsequent histories in the program and in the private schools - particularly by means of a thorough 2-year follow-up study. Information was gathered from interviews with students and faculty both at the summer program and in the private schools; through careful keeping of records and reports; and through initial and follow-up testing with standardized educational tests and psychological inventories. The research design also included similar testing on a comparable Control group of disadvantaged students who remained at their home high schools.

STUDENT CHARACTERISTICS. The ABC boys in this study were disadvantaged students, 70% Negro, 10% White, 10% American Indian, 9% Puerto Rican and 2% Oriental. Most were 13 or 14 years old at time of entrance. Their home communities were predominantly urban ghettos or rural areas that were economically impoverished with inadequate local schools and limited opportunities. Median family income was $3,900 and median parental education was 11th grade. Though coming from disadvantaged backgrounds, the students generally had shown ability and were marked by a desire and drive to advance educationally. Thus the boys were not "hard core" academic problems from poor school systems, but rather were outstanding students from such schools. Most appeared motivated and achieving, and not too badly handicapped academically. Their initial Otis I.Q. scores averaged 115 with a range from 92 to 132. Cooperative English Achievement Test percentiles averaged in the 70's of appropriate national high school norms and in the 40's on preparatory school norms on the same tests. A variety of data indicated that most were responsible and well socialized students who were achieving and strongly motivated toward educational advancement.

SUMMER TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM. The 8-week summer program the boys attended at Dartmouth was designed to prepare them for the academic and social transition to boarding school life. The intensive program was not particularly concerned with "cultural enrichment", but rather concentrated on strengthening abilities in basic aspects of secondary school curriculum, namely English, reading, and mathematics. The program was deliberately rigorous and demanding, with small classes and an unusual degree of individual help from teachers and tutors. Dormitory and social life and daily schedules were designed to familiarize the boys with the characteristics of boarding schools.

Most students reported the work demanding and difficult. Though many complained of the heavy schedule, most felt they had benefited. Morale was high and student attitudes were generally positive.

Of the 82 entering boys: 2 had left by the end of the summer, 5 were not recommended to enter preparatory school, 1 was recommended but chose not to enter, and the remaining 74 were recommended and entered preparatory school that fall.

ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE IN PRIVATE SCHOOL. Attrition during the first 2 years was 20% and by the beginning of the 4th years was 26%. At the latter point the current status of the 82 Dartmouth ABC '65 boys was: 26% dropped out of program, 41% continuing in independent school, and 33% admitted to college.

The ABC boys' academic record in the private schools was mixed, ranging from complete failure to outstanding success. The overall grade records for the first 2 years were: 20% failing, 7% near failing, 54% average, 19% good or outstanding. Classification of the academic trends in the boys' work over the 2 years showed: 26% POOR with consistent low level performance, 11% DECLINE with a definite fall in performance, 9% MEDIOCRE with no great changes in low average performance, 30% GAINS with definite improvement in academic performance, and 24% GOOD with consistent high level performance.

Faculty reports indicated that the half of the group classified GAINS and GOOD had shown definite scholastic improvement, but that the other half had shown no substantial improvement and in some cases even declined.

About 80% of the ABC boys reported the work in preparatory school as harder, much faster and more difficult than formerly, but also reported teaching was better and they received far more individual attention. About 60% of the boys felt they were improving academically and 20% felt they were doing more poorly.

Test-retest data over the 2-year period showed no significant change in mean Otis I.Q. scores for the ABC students, but the Control group showed a slight but statistically significant drop. Similarly the Cooperative English achievement test percentiles scores showed only minor changes for ABC students and Controls. Thus these standardized educational tests showed no appreciable gains for the ABC students after 2 years in the program.

These findings imply that compensatory education programs for older disadvantaged students should be modest and realistic in their expectations of what can be accomplished scholastically. These programs require careful evaluation and supposed gains need to be documented to establish their extent and magnitude. However, it should be added that the concept of educational gains should not be too narrowly focused on just grades and test scores, but look to other kinds of growth as well. Other evidence indicated that many ABC students had gained in depth and maturity as a result of their experiences.

ADJUSTMENT TO PRIVATE SCHOOL. Careful interviews with ABC students and independent school staffs regarding the boys' social adjustment during the 2-year period found: 30% had major adjustment difficulties (with 10% dropping out for such reasons and 20% continuing but with considerable hardship); 40% had transient minor adjustment difficulties; and 30% had apparently experienced little difficulty and made an easy transition.

Faculty members were somewhat more sanguine about the boys' adjustment than were the boys themselves - however they were generally aware of the more serious problems. Among sources of problems the faculty cited were: confinement and restrictions of boarding school life, conflicts with peer group values and standards, class differences, and racial problems and prejudice.

In 80% of the cases boys said the ABC summer transitional program had been good preparation for boarding school life. Regarding their acceptance at and identification with their schools: 60% said they felt they really belonged, 30% felt somewhat apart, and 10% felt very much apart and alone. About a quarter had various major unpleasant experiences with students at the school, primarily hazing and wanton cruelty. About 40% of the ABC boys reported encountering major incidents of prejudice and racial discrimination from other students, but 35% said they had encountered none. The social attitudes of their classmates and the atmosphere of their schools were disliked by many boys, but few were markedly alienated. Many Negro students expressed concern regarding overassimilation and loss of identity, but most seemed to feel they were handling the problem satisfactorily and felt free to be themselves and found acceptance on their individual merits. As the number of Black students increased in the schools, they tended to establish their own sub-groups and cliques.

Overall most ABC students had made satisfactory or good adjustment to the private schools, and the general picture was of good acceptance and a sense of belonging. However there were some cases of marked conflict and problems.

PERSONAL AND SOCIAL CHANGES. Faculty reports of changes in boys were: predominantly positive in 75% of cases, mixed in 15%, and predominantly negative in 10%. The benefits reported included educational gains, wider experience, raised ambitions, and increased pride in self and accomplishments. The main positive changes were cited as: more at ease and confident; academic improvement; more experienced and broader; more aware and perceptive; and more articulate and able to express self. For the 25% where negative changes were reported, they were mainly: more tense and anxious; discouraged and defeated; more alienated and cynical; and more complacent and snobbish.

In 75% of the cases the ABC boys reported the experience beneficial, in 17% mixed, and in 6% harmful. Many were highly enthusiastic and appreciative, stating it had been a major transition point in their lives. The boys gave predominantly positive reports of gains including: increased academic competence; greater awareness; more direction; higher goals in life; greater ease; increased tolerance; and greater articulateness. However, 26% reported greater tension and anxiety; 15% discouragement with their limitations; and 10% less drive and dedication. And smaller numbers reported disillusionment and alienation, smugness and complacency, and social withdrawal. This agrees with findings from other studies on the effects of integration which report variable rather than uniform effects (Katz, 1968). A few students were clearly in great conflict and deeply troubled. The increased anxiety and tension reported by a quarter was attributed to the specific adjustment strains and to the increased academic pressure and competition.

About 40% of the boys reported feeling more critical of their former communities, but only 20% reported themselves as more distant from their families. About half reported difficulties in the transitions from school to home.

Psychological inventory scores showed many marked and statistically significant changes for ABC boys, that were not found for the Controls. On the Cattell HSPQ all Anxiety-related measures were significantly raised, including scales measuring: emotionality; reactivity to threat; apprehensiveness and worry; and tension and drive. But there were also increases on extraversion and outgoingness, and casualness. On the Gough CPI there were increases on: capacity for status; social presence; self-acceptance; tolerance; achievement via independence; and flexibility. There were decreases on: socialization and self-control; and achievement via conformance. The pattern of these many significant changes is interpreted as indicating that the ABC boys became more tense and driven, yet paradoxically more self-assured and independent. It appears to indicate the personal benefits and costs of meeting and coping with new and highly demanding situations.

CORRELATES OF ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE AND SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT. Most family, community, and social background characteristics showed little relationship with academic performance - except that American Indian students did more poorly as a group (50% attrition). But entering intelligence and achievement test scores did show moderately high and statistically significant positive correlations (in .40's and .50's) with boys' 2-year academic record. Personality inventory scores showed the boys doing better work as more conforming, serious, tender-minded, conscientious, responsible, foresighted, self-reliant and efficient; while those doing poorer work measured more assertive, aggressive, anxious, happy-go-lucky, lazy, and unambitious. Trait ratings of the students by the ABC summer faculty supported these findings and many ratings of relevant traits showed high correlation with the boys academic record in the preparatory schools.

Social adjustment and academic performance were highly correlated (.56) and tended to show similarity in some of the characteristics to which they were related. Social adjustment showed little relationship with background characteristics, but did relate to boys' attitudes toward their prior schooling and their responses to the ABC summer program. Boys who disliked the routine, schedules, and dormitory living during the first summer were found to have adjusted poorly to the boarding schools in the two-year follow-up. Intelligence, achievement, and personality test scores showed no relationship with social adjustment. Trait ratings by the summer program faculty showed many significant correlations indicating that boys who went on to make good adjustment to the schools were more involved and interested in their work and were more socially outgoing and popular; while those who made poor adjustments show low work involvement and erratic performance and were more withdrawn, unpopular, immature, and uneasy.

Clearly the evidence indicated those who fared well, academically and socially, in the private schools had more strengths and positive assets; while those who did not do as well had more difficulties and limitations. The transition was hard on the less able boys. Unfortunately research limitations did not allow systematic investigation of important influences in the 39 different school environments which undoubtedly must have affected the process.

ATTRITION AND FOLLOW-UP OF DROP-OUTS. The attrition was 20% in the first two years, and 26% by the beginning of the fourth year. Of these, approximately 60% left for academic reasons predominantly and 40% because of adjustment difficulties.

Academic difficulties in some cases were due to low abilities, but mainly to low motivation and lack of self-discipline. In all but one case, the boys resumed high school at home and were expected to graduate with generally undistinguished records. Interviews revealed that some boys, particularly among the American Indians, initially had little desire to leave their homes and the relevance of the program to their lives was questionable.

Social adjustment difficulties were varied, including: homesickness, and inability to adjust; dislike of boarding school atmosphere and restrictions; and 1 case of disruptiveness.

Boys who had dropped out did not appear to be suffering ill effects. Most reported occasional mild regrets, but had returned to the community and resumed their former lives without great difficulty. Though most expressed positive attitudes toward the program, it appeared to have had minimal effects, positive or negative, on their lives.

CONCLUSIONS. This evaluation of Project ABC has produced mixed findings. Though these disadvantaged students generally were talented and motivated; the attrition rate was high, their academic record mixed; and there was no clear measurable evidence for general gains in scholastic abilities and achievement. Yet the testimony of faculty and students argued for positive gains and beneficial effects in many cases. In terms of broader educational goals and personal growth it can be argued that there were significant gains: students became more aware, articulate, self-confident and capable; - though for many there were increases in anxiety and tension. This study of the results and effects of moving disadvantaged boys into very different and demanding environments has shown how complex and variable are the results of the process. Careful evaluation is necessary to establish what is and what is not accomplished - but even then the answers may not be simple and unequivocal.

CHAPTER 1

INTEGRATION, COMPENSATORY EDUCATION, AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF PROJECT ABC

Americans have been forced to confront painful gaps between the nation we would like to be and the imperfect society we are. Recognition and admission of the shortcomings and failures is the necessary prelude and accompaniment to constructive action. A major subject of this increased national concern has been the severe educational problems of the disadvantaged. The serious educational handicaps of the disadvantaged in the United States have been amply documented in a series of sobering reports. The need for effective action to improve education of the poor, particularly from racial minority groups, has become increasingly evident. Recently many new programs have attempted to alleviate the widespread educational retardation of such students and to encourage and support their academic and educational advancement. The late 1950's and particularly the 1960's have witnessed a rapid and often confusing growth of special educational programs for disadvantaged students in a variety of school and college settings. Some programs appeared very promising and vital in their initial phases, but eventually withered and died. Other programs have prospered and grown, though not without difficulty. Amid all this rapid development a disturbing lack has been the general absence of satisfactory evaluative studies that provide necessary knowledge regarding the character and the results of these programs. There have been a few exceptions, but generally most of the innovative programs have not been subjected to careful evaluation. Until this is routinely done there can be little satisfactory basis for judgment of their accomplishments and failures. Enthusiasm and positive intentions are no substitute for careful assessment.

This report is an attempt to examine carefully and candidly one of the new educational programs for disadvantaged students, PROJECT ABC: A BETTER CHANCE. It is a talent search and scholarship program for disadvantaged high school students that offers them scholarships to secondary schools where they should have better educational opportunities. Begun in 1963, Project ABC during its first 5 years of operation has enrolled over 1,200 disadvantaged students, predominantly Negro but including a variety of minority groups. Most of these students entered the more than 100 private secondary schools participating in the program. As will become evident in this report, the character of this program and its students is unusual and represents a very special kind of effort to help talented disadvantaged students. However, a careful examination and evaluation of its operation and consequences can be of broad significance and of definite relevance to the kind of results obtained in other types of programs for the disadvantaged.

This report aims to present candidly and assess realistically the operation and results of Project ABC. An account will be given of the development and character of the program, the selection and characteristics of the students, and the educational results and personal consequences.

Later chapters will describe in detail the questions asked and the answers found. Briefly the aim was to evaluate as fully as possible the academic, social, and personal consequences that resulted from placing talented and promising disadvantaged students, predominantly Negro, in private secondary schools that had a very different social character and academic rigor than their former schools.

As prelude to presentation in the following chapters of the specifics of this study, it is appropriate to review briefly some of the relevant literature on the effects of racial desegregation and integration, and the development of compensatory programs for the education of the disadvantaged in recent years. Then the origin and development of Project ABC will be recounted. Thus this chapter will present both the general background of such programs and relevant information regarding the history of Project ABC.

STUDIES OF THE EFFECTS OF DESEGREGATION AND INTEGRATION

Despite the great social significance of and public interest in the issues of school desegregation and racial integration there has been surprisingly little careful research published on the academic and social effects of desegregation and integration, and the conditions under which favorable and unfavorable consequences ensue. An important summary and interpretation of the early work was presented in Allport (1954, 261-282). One of the most comprehensive recent reviews on the subject of factors influencing Negro performance in the desegregated schools is by Katz (1968), who made a careful analysis of the admittedly sketchy research evidence regarding the various factors that appear to influence the performance of Negro students in desegregated schools. He reported that "there is a dearth of unequivocal information about Negro performance in desegregated schools", but that "taking the published information for what it is worth, we find that most of it presents a favorable picture of Negro academic adjustment in racially mixed settings" (Katz, 1968, p. 259). He cited the evidence of various studies, including the Coleman report (1966), of the superior performance of Negroes in desegregated schools as opposed to those in segregated schools. However he pointed out that much of the apparent beneficial effect of having a high proportion of White classmates comes not necessarily from interracial contact per se but from the higher educational levels in the schools with more White students. Katz also reported that further analysis of the Coleman data showed differences between more truly "integrated" and merely "desegregated" schools: the evidence indicated that the Negro students perform better in those schools characterized by greater cross-racial acceptance. Katz noted findings that desegregation appears to have the effect of increasing the variability of Negro test scores and argued that in desegregated situations social rejection is more disturbing and social acceptance more facilitating on academic performance. A number of the studies cited indicated that in desegregation the performance of Negroes may show a wider variation in both upward and downward directions than in segregated situations, depending upon specific features of the situation. Katz cited evidence regarding the kinds of factors affecting low performance, such as: low expectancy of success when the academic expectations in the new situation are too high, social threat and rejection from White classmates, and failure threat when poor school work entails disapproval from significant authorities. On the other hand, the evidence indicated that acceptance of Negroes by White peers and adults has a social facilitation effect upon their ability to learn. By motivating them to adhere to higher standards of academic performance where the possibility of high performance wins approval, scholastic work is seen as having a higher incentive value. At present, however, and until further research is available Katz emphasized the necessarily tentative nature of statements regarding the effects of desegregation situations on Negro performance.

Some of the broader social consequences of racial separatism versus racial integration have been considered in a recent paper by Pettigrew (1968). He reviewed the history in recent decades of trends and controversies regarding racial integration and separation. He cited the evidence of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (1967) which in its study of racial isolation in public schools had found that both Negro and White adults who as children had attended interracial schools were more likely as adults to live in interracial neighborhoods and hold more positive racial attitudes than comparable adults who had known only segregated schools. In other words, those Americans of both races who had experienced only segregated education were more likely to reflect separatist behavior and attitudes as adults. Pettigrew argued "those who most fear discomfort in biracial settings are precisely those who have experienced such situations least" (p. 11). He observed:

> "Racially homogeneous settings are often more comfortable for members of both races, though this seems to be especially true at the start of the contact and does not seem to be so debilitating that those in the situation typically wish to return to segregated living. Those who remain in racial isolation, both Negro and White, find themselves increasingly less equipped to compete in an interracial world...
>
> "There is nothing inevitable, then, about the tension that characterizes many initial interracial encounters in the United States. Rather it is the direct result of the racial separation that has traditionally characterized our society. In short, separation is the cause, not the remedy for interracial awkwardness... Racist assumptions are not only nourished by separatism but in turn rationalize separatism."
>
> (Pettigrew, 1968, pp. 11-12)

Pettigrew cited a considerable body of evidence indicating a slow but steady errosion of raciat and separatist attitudes among White Americans. He reviewed a number of research studies in a variety of newly desegregated situations that found that the attitudes of both Whites and Negroes toward each other markedly improved. Large scale surveys indicated that the most extensive racial attitude changes among Whites had occurred where extensive desegregation of public facilities had taken place. Pettigrew also pointed out that not all intergroup contact necessarily leads to increased acceptance, but that the particular conditions are of great significance. He cited Allport's (1954) review that had indicated the importance of the characteristics of the contact situation. Prejudice is lessened when the two groups: 1) possess equal status in the situation, 2) seek common goals, 3) are cooperatively dependent upon each other, 4) interact with the positive support of authority, laws, or customs. Pettigrew also considered the social policy implications of this research and argued for a mixed "integration-enrichment strategy" for the racial ghettos that would contain safeguards to insure that enrichment will not impede integration. He cited the extensive 1968 survey of Negro residents in 15 major cities by Campbell and Schuman (1968) that indicated that more than three-quarters of the Negro sample indicated a clear preference for integration and appeared committed to principles of non-discrimination and racial harmony. A substantial number of Negroes wanted both racial integration and Black identity which Pettigrew argues is "true integration". Pettigrew has also written another very interesting and important theoretical analysis of the complex social psychological effects of interracial experience (1967, esp. 279-302). Later in this report we will examine some of the effects of integration experiences on the attitudes of the Negro students in Project ABC.

As increasing numbers of Negroes have entered integrated situations there have been some important studies of their experiences and reactions in particular settings. Among the significant studies are those of Deutsch & Collins (1951), Yarrow et al (1958 a & b), and Coles (1967). An investigation of direct relevance to our interests has been reported by Clark and Plotkin (1963, 1967). They studied the academic achievement of Negro graduates of segregated Southern high schools who attended integrated colleges through the help of the National Scholarship Service and Fund For Negro Students (NSSFNS). Their report on the Negro Student At Integrated Colleges was based on the findings from a follow-up survey of a group of 509 Negro students who entered interracial colleges during the period 1952-1956. It should be noted that these students had been carefully selected by NSSFNS for their academic qualifications. Most striking was the relatively low college drop-out rate in this select group as compared to overall national averages: fewer than 10% of these Negro students failed to obtain a degree while approximately 40% of entering White students do not complete college. A motivational hypothesis was advanced to explain the very low drop-out of Negroes at integrated colleges.

> "These students must complete college; to drop-out means that they will fall back into the ranks of the non-specialized labor force where their race insures the permanence of low status. Thus, the Negro students, aspiring to integration, overwhelmingly succeed in graduating despite the fact that they are less well prepared academically and financially. The alternatives to graduation are years of lower pay and status, greater unemployment, and under-utilization of their skills." (Clark & Plotkin, 1967, p. 119)

They found that financial reasons were the primary considerations when these students dropped out of college. Generally overall college performance of this group of Negro students was average; about 30% were averaging B or better and slightly less than 10% graduated with honors.

Students from Southern high schools generally had better academic records than those from the North. Higher college averages were found for students who had better grades in high school, whose parents had higher occupational levels, and both of whose parents had completed college. More women than men completed college and earned high grades in this sample. High school intelligence test scores did not appear to have great predictive value for the college performance of these students. Similarly it was found that scholastic aptitude test scores were not clearly associated with college grades. It was suggested that college admissions offices should not weigh test scores as much for such students, since they do not predict the college success of Negro students in the same way that they do for Whites. (However it will be noted in Chapter 8 of this report that we found traditional abilities and achievement tests moderately correlated with academic success in preparatory schools in our research.) Their study suggested that motivational factors were probably more important than test scores in predicting the demonstrated superiority of Negro students in completing college. Regarding the students' college experiences they reported:

> "Although nearly all the students retrospectively judged their college experiences very favorably, there are some indications that the Negro at integrated colleges faces some racial problems and pressures. There is strong evidence that the least successful academic group is less enthusiastic about the favorable aspects of college than the better academic groups and readier to report instances of discrimination."
>
> (Clark & Plotkin, 1967, p. 121)

The least successful academic group differed from the other groups by expressing greater racial sensitivity and more hostility toward Whites. Regarding post college employment it was found that public employment was the predominant occupational area. Only about 10% were in private enterprise and almost none were self-employed. Most occupations were high level and 40% were employed as professionals. While the data clearly revealed that the college trained Negro is no longer required to hold a menial position, he is not yet fully integrated into private industry and commerce but is still dependent upon government and private agencies for the utilization of his skills. Almost three-quarters of the group reported encountering at least one major form of discrimination since leaving college. Housing was the major area of discriminatory rebuff, closely followed by employment and public accomodations.

The general impression given by the studies of the performance and experiences of Negro students in integrated educational settings is favorable, though it is also clear that many students encounter problems. Most appear to benefit, but there are difficulties in such transitions. Obviously much more research needs to be done. The present study adds some further findings on the subject.

COMPENSATORY EDUCATION PROGRAMS FOR THE DISADVANTAGED

In recent years there has been an enormous growth in the literature on the educational problems of the disadvantaged. (The number of publications is very great, some of the most relevant studies and collections of relevant research include: Coleman, 1966; Conant, 1961; Deutsch, Katz & Jensen, 1967; Frost & Hawkes, 1968; Harrington, 1962; Passow, 1963; Riessman, 1962; Webster, 1966. Most of the studies have been concerned with the economic, political, social and cultural factors related to poor schooling and the prevalent low academic performance of disadvantaged students, particularly Negroes and other minority group members. There also has been increasing attention to the specific cognitive developmental factors and motivational factors affecting poor school performance for such students (Deutsch, et. al., 1967). Immediately relevant to the consideration of these problems, of course, is the important literature on the damaging effects of racial segregation and discrimination on the self-image and performance of Negroes and other minority group members (Allport, 1954; Clark, 1965; Dollard, 1937; Grier & Cobbs, 1968; Kardiner & Oversey, 1951; Myrdal, 1944; Pettigrew, 1964; Proshansky & Newton, 1967; Silberman, 1964). The human cost of discrimination and racism for all citizens, Black and White, has been made amply clear.

As public awareness of the serious educational handicaps of disadvantaged minority group children has increased, many efforts have begun in an attempt to improve conditions through active intervention. There has been great expansion in the number and variety of compensatory educational programs for the disadvantaged in recent years. Such programs have been initiated at preschool, elementary school, secondary school, and college levels and have been very varied in their approaches. With such a profusion of attempts throughout the country to develop programs to improve the educational opportunities and academic performance of disadvantaged students, it is extremely difficult to gain overall perspective. Sources that attempt to survey the scene are Gordon & Wilkerson, 1966; Rees, 1968; and Gordon, 1968. The latter observed:

> "A constellation of forces has raised to the level of national concern the issue of providing special educational and social projects for disadvantaged children. These forces are the struggle of the disadvantaged and segregated for improvement in their life chances, society's growing demand for competence in the conceptualization and use of knowledge, new insights growing out of pilot demonstrations and research programs, and finally the allocation of federal funds and support which is unprecedented in the history of education in the United States.
>
> "Although existing programs of compensatory education vary widely in size and scope throughout the country, they have in common the dual goals of remediation and prevention. They are remedial in that they attempt to fill gaps - social, cultural, or academic - in the child's total education. They are preventive in that they try to forestall either initial or contributing failure in school and later life...
>
> If the flood of interest and activity currently being poured into work with the disadvantaged were based on substantial research findings or reflected considered, empirically-derived evidence, one could have greater

> hope that this effort would result in greatly improved life chances for the target population."
> (Gordon, 1968, pp. 398, 405)

Rees (1968) in her long and detailed survey of legislation and programs for compensatory education, indicated the enormous variety of approaches and target populations involved. She noted:

> "Although the statements of the programs vary, as do the formats, there does appear to be a set of broad objectives toward which all are working to some degree. They are all determined to discover the more basic abilities and talents of the deprived children and youth and give opportunity for their development, to help each learner to become motivated by his own desire to learn and to do well, and to raise the levels of both achievement and aspiration on the part of the young by inspiring better self-images, higher degrees of self-respect, and a larger measure of success...
>
> "All programs express the need for additional financial assistance, which can be forthcoming in a limited amount from the school system itself, from local and national private groups or foundations, and from the federal government. The differences in the programs lie in the emphasis, the desired depth of the study, the nature of the program, research or functional change, the duration, and the type of evaluation.
>
> "How shall these new programs be evaluated? A survey of the current literature on deprivation and compensatory education shows little discussion on evaluation...The introduction of early programs did not begin until 1959 and 1960, and much of the research and more finely designed programs were begun around 1962 and 1963. There has been little opportunity for a long-range study of the results, and the short-range view often puts too much emphasis upon the newness of the ideas and the inclusion of many techniques and procedures that could not be realistically undertaken by many school systems" (Rees, 1968, pp. 204-205)

The problems of evaluation are discussed by her in considerable detail (pp. 206-211).

A considerable number of the programs and most of the research have been directed toward preschool and early elementary school years. However, the most influential compensatory education project, the Demonstration Guidance Project, was begun in 1956 in a junior high school in New York City and expanded to the Higher Horizons Program. The initial literature on and evaluations of the program were quite encouraging (Reissman, 1962; Schrieber, 1960; Landers, 1963; Rees, 1968; pp. 211-214); but fuller evaluation research indicated that the expanded program appeared to have little measurable effect in the enhancement of school functioning in the target population and it was eventually discontinued (Wrightstone, _et_. _al_., 1964, Gordon, 1968, pp. 393-397).

None-the-less, it became the model for much of the work thoughout the country for compensatory programs for disadvantaged youth. Another major influence on the development of such programs came through the studies at the Institute for Developmental Studies in the New York Medical College (Deutsch, 1967). These and other programs which investigated the use of a variety of enrichment experiences and stimulation of language development at the preschool level encouraged a number of private agencies and public school systems to institute special nursery programs as supplements to or part of the regular school programs. These developments were a major influence on the initiation of Project Headstart in 1965. Deutsch's careful and detailed studies (1967) provide a model for the kind of basic research that is necessary to show what can be accomplished in such programs and the conditions under which gains may be obtained and maintained. (A review of such studies of environmental intervention in infancy and early childhood may be found in Stendler-Lavatelli, 1968.)

During the early and mid 1960's throughout the country a variety of compensatory programs were begun for disadvantaged high school students. In many cases the iniative for such programs came from colleges and universities. Though many of these projects have now been in operation a few years, there is practically no available literature regarding their evaluation and results. The Social Dynamics Research Institute at the City University of New York did undertake a survey of experiences in such programs. The preliminary report by Selltiz et. al. (1967) noted that there was little research or literature on these programs for disadvantaged students of secondary school age.

> "Although there is a rapidly-increasing body of literature about students from educationally disadvantaged backgrounds, it is concerned primarily with younger children; on the whole statements about disadvantaged students at the secondary level tend to be extrapolations of theories or findings about younger children. Moreover, much of what has been written even about younger children from disadvantaged backgrounds consists largely of general statements about their characteristics and their educational needs, frequently presented without supporting empirical data.
>
> "On the other hand, within the last few years a considerable number of compensatory educational programs for disadvantaged students have been established. Some of these programs are based on careful analysis of the educational problems of these children, and a few incorporate systematic research both on the characteristics of the children and on the effects of the program. While most of these programs are for young children, a few - and an increasing number - are at the high school and college level. Most of these programs, especially at the upper age levels, are new enough so that little has been written about them, even descriptively, and there has not yet been time for analysis and publication of even short-range results."
>
> (Selltiz, 1967, pp. 1-2)

As an initial attempt to gain more information regarding the characteristics of these new programs, Selltiz and her associates undertook in 1966 an "experience survey" of staff members involved in various programs of compensatory education at the secondary and college level. They interviewed staff members in 33 different programs mainly in the eastern United States. One thing they found was that most of the individuals knew very little about programs at other institutions and were eager for information and findings. Outside of a few people in fund granting agencies, there was little information available about the nature of the programs. With the absence of any evaluation studies in most of these programs, Selltiz _et_. _al_. felt the most immediately useful thing they could do would be to interview staff members regarding the practices of the various programs and discover their attitudes and experiences regarding educational programs for the disadvantaged. One finding was that most programs clearly were not enrolling a sample of "typical disadvantaged students" as described in the literature, but tended to have rather special kinds of disadvantaged students. Most of these disadvantaged students appeared to have satisfactorily survived their early experience in poor schools and were functioning well enough academically to be included in special programs at the high school or college level. (Later we will see in Chapter 3 how these comments are applicable to the ABC students we shall be studying.) However, most staff and teachers in such programs had encountered general problems in the academic performance of disadvantaged students. They were inclined to attribute the difficulties primarily to shortcomings in earlier education and tended to reject the hypotheses that they were due to severe cognitive deficiencies or emotional problems in the majority of cases. The great majority of respondents agreed that disadvantaged students have various problems in verbal ability. Most attributed it to class differences in vocabulary and sub-cultural jargons different from standard middle-class English. Also mentioned were inadequacies in the use of standard English and inhibition of expression in the presence of middle-class people. About a quarter of the respondents felt that the issue of difference in verbal ability between lower-class and middle-class students had been exaggerated. Some reported that lower-class vernacular was more direct and expressive than standard middle-class vocabulary, and many reported that they had found that the verbal deficiencies of the disadvantaged students they had taught were usually remedied without great difficulty. In her survey of practitioners in such compensatory educational programs Selltiz found:

> "The great majority of the respondents agreed with the hypothesis that special educational programs can bring about considerable improvement, even at high school and college levels. Most of them based this view on experience within their own programs, citing the improvements observed there as evidence that even at this age programs fitted to the needs of educationally disadvantaged students can bring about substantial change. However, a number of respondents...commented that although it is possible to bring about improvement at the secondary level, it is much easier to do so at earlier ages."
>
> (Selltiz _et. al_., 1967, p. 53)

She noted that in evaluating this picture, it must be kept in mind that it was given by people working directly with students in special programs for the "disadvantaged" at the secondary and college levels. On the one hand, this gave their views a firm grounding in practical experience. These people were talking about youngsters with whom they had been working closely over a period of time, under conditions that provided good opportunities for making judgments on the questions at issue. But she also noted:

> "On the other hand, there is considerable question whether the students who find their way into these special programs at the high school and college level are typical of "disadvantaged" students in general. Although all of the programs are designed for youngsters who would not be eligible for college without the special help given by the program, it seems almost certain that all of the programs in some way select from among this pool of students those are are thought to have some potential for further academic work, and two or three of the programs are quite highly selective in this respect.
>
> "The answers, then, do not provide any firm basis for conclusions about disadvantaged students in general. They do, however, seem to provide a rather strong basis for questioning some of the gloomier generalizations that have been made about disadvantaged students. At the very least, they indicate that there are exceptions; that somehow, some students manage to survive their disadvantaged backgrounds and perform well when they are given some special help, even if that help does not come until they are in their teens. There seems to be no way of estimating for what proportion of disadvantaged students this may be true, until such opportunities are provided on a much broader scale."
>
> (Selltiz, 1967, pp. 55-56)

Selltiz's survey appears to be one of the few done regarding the experiences of participants in these various compensatory programs for the disadvantaged. In the absence of evaluative research in this area it will have to stand at present as a summary of the experience, or more probably the attitudes, of those immediately involved in such programs. Hopefully more definite reports and research findings will eventually come from the various programs. The present study of Project ABC is one contribution to that necessary assessment of the results and effects of compensatory education.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS TALENT SEARCH PROGRAM AND PROJECT ABC

We have briefly examined the general development of programs of compensatory education in the 1960's, and will now turn to consideration of the particular circumstances that led to the development of the program to be evaluated in this report. Project ABC emerged and took form as a result of a number of similar ideas and plans that were simultaneously developing in independent secondary schools, private foundations and colleges, and government agencies. The early development of Project ABC was initiated by actions taken by a group of 21 independent secondary schools, the Rockefeller Foundation, and Dartmouth College.

Many private secondary schools have been concerned regarding the social homogeneity of their student bodies and desirous of making them more representative cross-sections of American society. Some of the schools better endowed in scholarship funds had attempted over a period of years to increase the representation of disadvantaged and minority group students. Others less well endowed felt that they needed to find means of increasing such student diversity in their schools. All had the common problem of finding potential scholarship students from groups that normally would not seek admission. Besides the concern about broadening the diversity of their student bodies for the well-being of their schools, there was also a genuine desire to encourage and help disadvantaged students by offering them greater educational opportunities.

On February 23, 1963 a meeting was convened at Phillips Academy in Andover, Massachusetts of representatives from 21 independent boarding schools that wished to consider possible ways and means of helping promising disadvantaged students. The result of the meeting was the formation of the Independent Schools Talent Search Program (ISTSP), (Simmons, 1965). With the support of a grant from the Merrill Foundation of Boston they initiated a talent search program for promising disadvantaged students who would be given full scholarships to be provided by the private schools. At the same time they recognized that the students to be recruited, mainly sophomores and juniors, would probably have difficulty making the transition from their former public schools to the boarding schools. It was felt that many would need intensive preparatory work in English and mathematics in order to meet the higher standards and faster pace they would encounter at the private schools. It was also felt that prior social preparation to get them used to boarding school dormitory living and regulations would be helpful. In short, it was felt they needed preparation for preparatory school.

During 1963 members of the Dartmouth faculty and administration had begun discussing ways the college could help and become more actively involved in the Negro struggle for equality. They had felt if the number of Negroes in responsible positions in American society was to be increased, colleges like Dartmouth would actively have to interest themselves in their education and design appropriate programs. It was decided that Dartmouth should find ways of intervening in the education of Negro students at the secondary school level and that such intervention should be of fairly long duration and appropriate to the educational needs. For a period establishment of a special secondary school on the campus was considered; but when it was learned that the independent secondary schools, responding to the same needs, were concerned to develop a transitional program for disadvantaged students entering their schools it was recognized that a joint program could be developed. Out of this meshing of plans Project ABC (A Better Chance) was established as a transitional summer program at Dartmouth designed to prepare the disadvantaged students who were to enter the private secondary schools (Dey, 1964a & b, 1965a & b).

The college and the independent schools were willing to back the program with substantial amounts of their own funds. But it was clear that they did not have the resources to support the program alone, as it was estimated that the cost per student of the summer program would be approximately $1,500. Therefore they sought support from private foundations. During this planning period the Rockefeller Foundation had announced the decision of its trustees to extend its programs toward advancing equal opportunity and particularly to focus its efforts on higher education. An earlier report of one of its committees to the trustees of the foundation had stated:

> "Both our White majority and our Negro minority need the demonstration of increasingly visible numbers of Negroes achieving distinction and competing successfully with White associates in positions of importance and high attainment throughout our society. But well known and long-standing obstacles - poverty, poor schooling, lack of incentive and confidence born of these limitations, and the long denial of occupational opportunity above menial levels in White society - impose formidable barriers. There is grave risk that too few Negroes with adequate professional training will appear to take the positions which almost abruptly are being offered and that too many who do take such positions with inferior training will prove to be inadequate. A tragic consequence could be the reclosing of these new occupational opportunities and the re-entrenchment of widespread conviction that Negroes as a group lack the capacity for higher level professional, executive, and technical achievement.
>
> "Spreading demonstrations of success, on the other hand, could perpetuate and multiply such opportunities."
>
> (Quoted in Schickel, 1965, p. 6)

The Rockefeller Foundation felt that to speed the flow of potentially gifted disadvantaged students to outstanding colleges it would be necessary to experiment with various means of supplementary high school education, and in early 1963 such possibilities were discussed informally with the presidents of a number of outstanding colleges (Schickel, 1965). Similar plans had been developing at a number of those institutions and eventually proposals were submitted from Princeton, Oberlin, and Dartmouth for compensatory education programs for disadvantaged high school students. The Rockefeller Foundation agreed to provide $450,000 a year, equally divided among the three institutions for support of these programs for a period of three years beginning in the summer of 1964. All three programs were summer programs for disadvantaged high school students on the college campuses. The specific features of the programs were quite varied (Schickel, 1965) and we will only consider the features of Dartmouth Project ABC. However, it should also be noted that many other college programs for disadvantaged students began at about this period including the Yale Summer High School (Fleishman, 1967; Klein & Gould, 1968), the City University of New York College Discovery Program, and similar projects. During the 1963-64 period the Rockefeller Foundation alone appropriated nearly $9,000,000 for 29 institutions interested in increasing educational opportunities for Negro and other disadvantaged students. The variety of these programs has been great and many were considered innovative pilot projects with the hope that they would eventually become self-sustaining and find various new sources of continuing support.

As will become evident in the remainder of this report, Project ABC is atypical and unusual in many of its features. It seeks to find a talented and promising group of disadvantaged students who, although they may have been handicapped by previous schooling, have given evidence of high potential and future promise. Thus the selection of students is somewhat special. Also it differs from other summer programs in that it does not return the students to their home high schools, but instead provides them with full tuition scholarships and expense allowances to independent secondary schools. These features make it quite distinctive. It should have a more total impact upon the lives of the students than other programs which generally offer the students a summer of enrichment and varying degrees of continuing follow-up contacts but return them to their home high schools where they continue as regular students during the academic year. The lives of the ABC students are altered to a far greater extent, therefore the results are of particular interest.

It should be noted that the per student costs of Project ABC are quite high. The initial summer transitional program costs roughly $1,400 per student including room and board, transportation to and from the program, books and instructional and administrative costs. The scholarships to secondary schools average about $3,250 per student per year including tuition and instruction, room, meals, and transportation. Most students are enrolled in the secondary schools for 2 or 3 years. The total annual program costs thus are very high. The initial funds for ABC scholarships came from the scholarship endowments of the independent preparatory schools, but with the growth of the program there has been increasing support from outside sources and, with marked fluctuation, federal funding.

From the 21 independent boarding schools originally involved in the program, the number has grown to 108 independent schools and 8 public secondary schools. (See Appendix A for a full list of participating secondary schools as of fall 1968.) Also the number of colleges offering the summer program expanded. In the first 5 years of the program, 1964-68, there were 1219 students who entered various Project ABC summer programs, three-quarters of them boys, with over 90% to attend independent schools and less than 10% to attend public schools. During that period 709 were privately funded and 510 federally funded. (The full statistics on the entering classes and programs are presented in Appendix B, Table 1.) As of January 1969, 185 students had graduated from the secondary schools, 851 were continuing in the schools, and 183 had dropped out of the program. (The statistics are presented in Appendix B, Table 2.)

Inspection of the tables cited indicates that the ABC program has grown substantially through this first 5-year period. The number of schools involved has markedly increased, as have the number of applications and the number of students admitted. However the growth has been far from steady and even. The number of scholarships available for entering students has varied from year to year, depending upon the available scholarship funds of the independent schools (many of which are quite limited in the number of scholarship students they can support). The greatest fluctuations have been due to the varying involvement of the Office of Economic Opportunity. During the first year of the program ('64) there were no federally supported students. During 1965 there were proposals of accommodating 200 OEO supported students, but the trustees of Project ABC decided that too rapid growth might injure the quality of the program and only 100 students were federally funded that year. In 1966 when the program expanded to a number of additional college campuses there were 300 OEO funded entering students. However in subsequent years the number of OEO supported students has markedly decreased and the future of federal funding is most uncertain. All students enrolled through any source were assured of continuing support until graduation. This has meant that the annual budgets for both entering and continuing students has markedly increased over the years. The total appropriation from OEO, for example, for the fiscal year 1968-69 was close to $1,250,000. It thus is clear that the ABC program, though limited in scope, is costly and the assurance of continuing support has been a major problem. To meet such needs a development office was established in New York City to seek to broaden the bases of private support. Thus Project ABC has been aided in its search for further resources through the help of a number of foundations including the Rockefeller Foundation, the Ford Foundation, the Hill Family Foundation, the Charles E. Merrill Trust, the Danforth Foundation, and the Charles F. Kettering Foundation.

The initial groups of ABC students entered private secondary schools. The total student enrollment in these preparatory schools is approximately 25,000. Most have Negro enrollments well below 5%, though in a few schools it exceeds 10%. Even if all the private schools could increase the enrollments of disadvantaged minority students to 10%, the total number of places available for ABC type students would still be only about 2500 (Dey, 1968, p. 30). Thus even during the short period of its existence Project ABC has found it was annually rejecting hundreds of equally qualified applicants and has been pressed to find additional educational opportunities for such students. Therefore an effort has been made to expand Project ABC by involving public high schools in the program. The first group of ABC students to enter public high schools through the program attended the Dartmouth ABC '66 program and entered Hanover (N.H.) High School last fall. Since that time the number of participating public high schools has grown to 8, but thus far only a very small percentage of ABC students have entered public high schools through the program (Dey, 1968). The public high school program will not be evaluated in this report, as the group of students studied here all were to attend private secondary schools.

This brief sketch of the first 5 years of Project ABC has indicated its substantial growth despite many uncertainties and problems. The program clearly is unusual and differs markedly from other programs of compensatory education for disadvantaged high school students. Though it definitely is limited in size, it represents a program through which a substantial number of talented disadvantaged students have been offered new educational opportunities. It would appear that few programs have such a potentially great impact upon the lives of the students involved. The degree to which the educational and social environments of the students is altered makes it very unusual. As a compensatory education program that alters the situation of its students in profound ways, it should have great importance in determining the effects of educational intervention and environmental change upon the lives of disadvantaged students. For this reason it was essential that the results of Project ABC be carefully evaluated.

CHAPTER 2

RESEARCH QUESTIONS, DESIGN, AND METHODS

Because Project ABC was new and innovative, those at Dartmouth responsible for its development recognized the necessity for a careful evaluation of both its academic results and effects on the students' lives. The writer was invited to Dartmouth in 1964 to observe the program and design an evaluation study. The results of the first summer ABC program in 1964 were encouraging, but it was recognized that only a longer-term study that followed the ABC students into the independent schools (and hopefully subsequently) could furnish the evidence necessary to judge the academic results and personal consequences. For however desirable the aims of the program might seem in the abstract, thoughtful individuals must have serious questions concerning its actual results. Through this program the lives of disadvantaged boys were being greatly altered - they were moved from impoverished slums and depressed rural areas to high status preparatory schools with very different social climates, values, and academic demands. Certainly these educational and social changes might offer opportunities and advantages, but they also might subject the boys to great personal challenge and social stress.

MAJOR RESEARCH QUESTIONS

We wanted to know what happens to a talented poor boy when he is moved to an upper-class boarding school; what has he gained and at what price? We were concerned with both the immediate and long-range consequences of such a transition. We wanted to know who profited from such a program and who did not. We wanted to know what, if any, were the academic and educational gains. We wanted to know what changes, beneficial or harmful, might occur in personality, attitudes and interests. We wanted an honest and objective evaluation of the ABC program to determine its successes and its failures, its strengths and its problems.

Therefore, it was decided to undertake a detailed follow-up and evaluation study to be made with full cooperation of the Independent Schools Talent Search Program, Dartmouth College, and the participating independent schools. To help support this study a research proposal was submitted to and eventually approved by the Cooperative Research Program, Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. The aims of this research were summarized in the abstract of the original proposal:

> "ABSTRACT- Inaugurated last summer by Dartmouth College and over thirty participating independent schools with the support of the Rockefeller Foundation, 'Project ABC - A Better Chance' is an experimental talent search and scholarship program designed to provide greater educational opportunities for promising underprivileged youth. An intensive summer program aims to ready a selected group of disadvantaged students to move into the independent preparatory schools

as scholarship students. Though possessing the mental capacity and leadership potential, these high school students are distinct 'academic risks' and definitely require special preparation and intensive work to succeed in the independent schools. Their acceptance by the secondary schools is contingent upon satisfactory work in the Dartmouth ABC summer program.

"Last summer's initial experience indicated the magnitude of the undertaking and the possitility of some degree of success. We feel it is necessary to have careful and objective evaluation of the long-term results of this scholarship program in order to know the educational, personal, and social consequences.

"a) Objectives. The lives of the ABC students are greatly altered. The educational and social changes offer great opportunity - but also subject the boys to great challenge and stress. We want to know the personal and social consequences of such an unusual transition. Will the program succeed in its aims or will it produce only minimal effects - or perhaps even prove harmful? We have three major foci of research concern: (1) Determinants and correlates of success and failure. We want to know who profits from the program and who does not. Intelligence and ability should play a large part, but we suspect certain motivational factors, character traits, and background factors will also prove of great significance. (2) Educational accomplishments. We want to know how much actually is accomplished in terms of academic gains and educational achievements. We want to see whether ABC students do, in fact, become more proficient scholastically and go on to college in greater numbers than their peers who did not have such opportunities. (3) Personal and social changes. We want to know what changes may occur in personality, self-conception, interests, attitudes and values. We expect that the aspirations and motivations of most of these students will be raised, and we hope for positive changes in personality. However there is a distinct possibility that there may be many problems and unfortunate developments. We want to know how these students come to differ from their fellows.

"b) Procedures. The evaluation research involves careful keeping of detailed records and a program of standardized observation, testing and interviewing. Included are: achievement tests in English; intelligence testing, including traditional and 'culture fair' tests; standardized personality inventories and attitude and interest questionnaires; systematic ratings of student behavior and performance by teachers, resident tutors and staff; and follow-up studies and interviews regarding the overall effects of the program. Selected aspects of the testing and data collection will be carried out with a matched control group so important comparisons may be made.

> "Careful and honest evaluation is necessary to determine how successful this experimental program really is in giving these students A Better Chance."
> (Wessman, Dey, & Simmons, 1965)

As will be seen in the remainder of this report, all the major aims and procedures have been carried out. The specific details of the design were elaborated in the initial proposal. Subsequent chapters will present the kinds of data that were collected and the bases on which the specific research questions were answered. For now, we present a brief account of the overall design and some of the problems encountered.

GENERAL RESEARCH DESIGN

NECESSARY MODIFICATIONS. According to the design initially approved this evaluation research was to run 5 years and study 2 entering classes of ABC boys, of approximately 80 each in the Dartmouth summer ABC programs of 1965 and 1966, with detailed follow-up studies on both groups after 2 years in the program and with additional studies on their entering college performance. Unfortunately broad cutbacks in federal funding made the originally approved full government support of the research only run for 2 years with greatly reduced research support for a third year. Fortunately Dartmouth College support generously continued into a fourth year of final report writing with some federal support for its preparation. Thus the full scope of the research had to be reduced somewhat from the initial plans. However, as will be seen all the major questions originally to be investigated in the research have been adequately studied and definite conclusions reached. The major overall effects of the federal cutbacks in research support were: 1) to reduce the number of students who received the full 2-year follow-up evaluation from the 160 initially planned to 82 boys; 2) to reduce the time period for gathering information on subsequent college admissions and eliminate entirely data on college performance; and 3) to reduce somewhat the adequacy of the follow-up of the control group. Despite these unexpected complications there fortunately was sufficient data collection and analysis to answer the major questions that prompted the research.

It was clear that a variety of approaches would be necessary to assess the program and its results with desired fullness. We wanted to include: the "objective" evidence from standardized educational and psychological tests; the reports of preparatory school teachers and staff who knew the boys' academic performance and observed their adjustment; and also the boys' own reports of their experiences and feelings. In short, a variety of different kinds of information was collected, analyzed, and will be reported bearing on the questions of concern. It was felt essential to include both the objective evidence of standardized tests and the more subjective impressions and experiences of those participating in the program.

STANDARDIZED TESTING OF ABC STUDENTS AND CONTROLS. Because of our interest in the long-term educational and personal consequences of the ABC scholarship program, a considerable amount of the data involved before-and-after testing to assess change. The initial testing was done at the time of the boys' application to the program and the follow-up testing was done after 2 years experience in the preparatory schools for those who continued in the program. (The boys who dropped out of the program and the Control group were also retested after 2 years, in most cases in their home high schools.) As the students were of different ages and grade levels at time of entrance into the progeam, it seemed wiser to take a uniform 2-year exposure to the preparatory schools as our independent variable, rather than other alternatives. Over the extended period of an initial summer experience in the ABC transitional program and almost 2 full academic years in the preparatory schools, we would expect the academic gains and personal changes, if any, to begin to become manifest.

The ABC boys and the Control group took a varied set of standardized psychological tests. The details and findings on these tests will be presented in later chapters, they included: the Otis Intelligence Test, the ETS Cooperative English Test, the Cattell High School Personality Questionnaire, the Tomkins-Horn Picture Arrangement Test, and the Guilford-Schneidman-Zimmerman Interest Survey - in all over 4 hours of standardized tests. (Additional tests were also given to the ABC students and will be reported.) These tests were administered to the ABC boys and Controls at time of application to the program and in the subsequent follow-up study 2 years later.

Of the 82 boys who entered the Dartmouth ABC program in 1965, there were 77 who were retested on the battery in the two-year follow-up. (Almost all test data was complete, but in the instances where a few cases had to be eliminated due to errors, the slightly reduced size is noted in the relevant tables in Appendix C.)

CONTROL GROUP: PROBLEMS AND SOLUTION. A Control group took both the initial and follow-up test battery. The Control group will enable us to make comparisons with the 2-year changes in other disadvantaged students who were similar to the ABC boys but did not have experience in the program or in the independent schools and instead remained at home in their local high schools. As will be seen these comparisons have definite value indicating the effects of the ABC experience. However, to be completely honest this Control group falls something short of the scientific ideal, though it does have some utility and justification. An ideal scientific Control group for psychological research should assign the students arbitrarily and completely randomly to the "Experimental" or the "Control" situations. This was not the case for this study. Though all students were tested at time of application to the program without knowledge of which ones would eventually become ABC students and which ones would not be accepted to the program, the decision regarding their acceptance into the program was in the hands of the preparatory schools. Therefore, it is evident that the "brighter" and more academically able boys would be more likely to be selected for the "experimental" or ABC group. This, of course, would be a considerable biasing factor in the findings if means were not taken to correct for it. As was expected, after selection the statistics on the initial intelligence and achievement test scores for the full groups of ABC subjects and Controls showed that there were significant differences - with ABC students scoring higher. The only proper way to insure comparable intelligence and achievement levels for the 2 groups would be through careful matching and as will be indicated shortly this was done.

Another problem involved the number of Control subjects. We had originally planned that there would be approximately 50 ABC students and 120 students in the Control pool for matching. However, the unexpected addition of 30 scholarships from the Office of Economic Opportunity in the late spring of 1965 increased the number of ABC students accepted to 80 and decreased the number of Controls to 90, - as all the scholarships went to boys in the original Control group. (It was planned to compensate for this depletion of Control boys by over-representation of Controls in the next year's initial testing and this was done, but unfortunately the unexpected federal cutbacks in research funds made it impossible to follow-up these Control students in the second year group.)

A further complication were the problems in maintaining contact with students in the Control group and inducing them to participate in further testing - as they had no strong ties to the program. Thus there was difficulty in following up the already reduced Control group and many were "lost" through school transfers, missing testing sessions, etc. (Again this difficulty had been compensated for with the second years Control group by initially testing more students from a smaller number of high schools where it was known from previous experience that fuller returns of data would be obtained, - but again these plans were frustrated by the cutback in research support which cancelled the intended follow-up of the second group.) The loss of students in the Control groups would make dubious any general overall statistics on Control group drop-outs and college admissions data.

However, despite these difficulties follow-up test data on a matched Control group was obtained for comparison purposes, as will now be discussed. In order to make the Control group comparable to the ABC students a number of criteria were set. It was decided to make the students in the 2 groups be as closely matched as possible for the most relevant characteristics that might affect the comparisons to be reported in later chapters. It was decided to use only students who were continuing in secondary school: that is to say, only ABC students who had continued in private independent schools for 2 years were used and only public high school students who had continued in their home high schools were used in such comparisons. (On the same tests there are also tables which report findings for the entire group of ABC students, but where comparisons are made with the Control group only a matched sub-sample of ABC students are used.) In brief, there were 23 matched pairs of ABC students and Controls, all were continuing in secondary school, they were matched on initial intelligence test scores, age, and race. All pairs were matched in intelligence so that the difference in initial I.Q. score was never greater than 5 points (plus or minus). In only 3 cases was the difference as large as 5 I.Q. points, and there was no statistically significant mean difference between the 2 matched groups on initial intelligence test scores. All 23 pairs were matched on age such that there was never greater than 5 months difference (plus or minus), and again there was no significant mean difference between the matched groups on age. The 23 pairs of students were also matched on race such that there were 19 Negro pairs, 3 Puerto Rican pairs, and 1 American

Indian pair included. Thus while a smaller Control group was obtained for comparison purposes than had initially been hoped for, it did appear that satisfactory matching of ABC and Control sub-samples was achieved so that meaningful comparisons could be made on the changes over the 2-year period. The significant findings from such comparisons of the *matched ABC and Control groups* will be presented in tables in later chapters; also at that time the data will be presented on changes observed in the *entire group of ABC students* (both those continuing in the program and those who dropped out).

GENERAL DATA GATHERING ON ABC STUDENTS. The various kinds of data gathered during the course of the study will become evident through its presentation in later chapters. However, at this point its appropriate to indicate briefly the main kinds of information collected on the ABC students from their initial application to the program, during the first summer, and subsequently in the independent schools. There was available a considerable body of *general background information* for each student including information on parent and family characteristics and previous schooling. There were standardized *intelligence*, *achievement*, and *personality* inventory scores. There were *teacher and staff reports and ratings* on academic work and general behavior both during the summer and in preparatory school. There was also collection of *records and data from the independent schools* and there were *interviews with the students* regarding both their prior life experiences and their experiences and reactions to Project ABC and the independent preparatory schools. As will be evident in later chapters, there was therefore a great deal of relevant information available to help answer our various questions regarding the characteristics of the ABC students and the effects the program had upon them.

INTERVIEWS WITH ABC STUDENTS. Besides the more standardized and objective data collection, it was felt that much valuable and essential information could only come from interviews with the ABC students and their teachers. Without systematic interviewing of the students and staff it was felt that much would be lost. Standardized tests and measures have definite utility, but many of the most significant aspects of the program could be assessed only from the personal testimony of those most intimately involved in the program.

Therefore, it was felt imperative that all ABC students be interviewed systematically both at the end of the initial summer program and after two years subsequent experience in the independent schools. Many informal conversations with students the previous summer had indicated some of the blocks in communication that must be overcome. Some of those students had appeared guarded and were reluctant or unable to express their personal feelings and reactions. For such reasons we felt that it was necessary to have realistic and modest expectations as to what might be learned from interviews, and also to define clearly the role of the interviewer in a legitimate and nonthreatening way. All the interviews to be reported were conducted by the writer. To establish good rapport it was decided that he should become a thoroughly familiar figure through active participation in many of the formal and informal activities of the ABC summer program (group meetings, regular mealtime conversations, participation in recreation, etc.). Thus he would be known by the students by the end of the summer program. Also it was decided that his role should be clearly and explicitly defined to the ABC students as not involving in any way the decisions regarding their individual continuation in the project. Rather he was defined as an interested and concerned observer who had legitimate reasons for wanting to know how all the students reacted to and felt about the program and its effect on their lives. During the initial testing sessions in the summer he defined the general scope and purpose of the evaluation research and stated that his sole concern was the evaluation of the total ABC program and accounting for its strengths and weaknesses rather than the judgment of individual students. Needless to say, at various times some students expressed apprehension and question regarding the reasons for a psychologist's interest in them, but with time most seemed not to be too threatened and were willing to express themselves candidly to him. However it was this interviewer's observation that the yield from interviews with the students was much greater at the time of the 2-year follow-up study than during the initial series of summer interviews. Probably this was because the students welcomed a familiar face from the past and were eager to relate what had happened during the intervening 2 years. Also it is to be hoped that this better rapport came from finding that their previous confidences had not been abused in any way.

In all the interviews a standard schedule was used with a fixed list of topics and set opening questions (Appendix D, Schedules 1 through 6). However the questions were asked in a fairly informal and conversational fashion and there was considerable latitude in the follow-up inquiries to allow the individual to expand upon his answers. From previous training and experience in public opinion surveying and clinical interviewing (Perrine & Wessman, 1954; Wessman & Ricks, 1966), the interviewer was well aware of the problems of interviewer bias and role characteristics and made every effort to let the respondant do the talking and attempted not to encourage only certain types of favored responses. The interviewer's aim was to find out what the respondant really felt and the reasons he felt this way. As will become evident when interview material is presented in later chapters, the emphasis was on as candid and full response as the respondant could give. From the range of interview responses to be presented in later chapters it will be seen that the answers obtained were quite diverse and probably are a reasonably adequate reflection of the "true" state of affairs. However, any honest interviewer must be aware of all the selective and biasing factors in interviewing and recognize that for a variety of reasons different interviewers will hear and record different things. As a White middle-class psychologist in his thirties charged to evaluate candidly the programs effect, the interviewer undoubtedly asked different questions and heard different answers than another person might. But at least the writer has the satisfying impression that many ABC boys told him important things about themselves and the program and that their experiences contributed substantially to the evaluation.

Of the 82 students who entered the Dartmouth ABC summer program in 1965, all 80 who completed the summer program were interviewed at its end. Of the 82 beginning students, there were 79 who were successfully contacted and reinterviewed two years later. Thus the interview material to be reported in later chapters is based on an almost complete representation of all students who entered the Dartmouth ABC program in 1965. The various statistics reported will include all the appropriate cases for whom there was available data - thus the representation will be quite full. The excerpts and representative statements from boys' interviews to be presented, are edited only slightly to aid clarity, eliminate redundancy, and remove material that might identify particular individuals; otherwise they are accurate transcriptions of what the boys said. Conscientious efforts have been made to give a full and representative selection from the boys' responses to the most important questions asked.

INTERVIEWS WITH INDEPENDENT SCHOOL STAFF. There were 74 of the original 82 Dartmouth ABC '65 boys who entered 39 different independent secondary schools. In the 2-year follow-up the writer had detailed interviews regarding each boy's academic record and social adjustment with the independent school faculty and staff members who knew the boy best (Appendix D, Schedule 2). In all cases there was a full review of the boy's history at the school with staff members who knew him well and there was ample access to the school records and transcripts. For almost all the 74 cases there were multiple interviews with a number of faculty members who knew the boy well in a variety of classroom, dormitory, and extracurricular situations. All the independent schools that enrolled the ABC students had been informed of the purpose of the evaluation research and had agreed to participate. There was excellent cooperation and in no instance was the writer dissatisfied when he left a school with the amount of information he had received. All the independent school faculty and staff interviewed appeared genuinely interested in the results of the ABC program and they were concerned to discuss problems and difficulties as well as to recount successes.

FOLLOW-UP TESTING AND INTERVIEWS WITH STUDENTS WHO LEFT THE PROGRAM. To properly evaluate the program it was essential to be as thorough in our follow-up of boys who dropped out of the program. It was necessary to include these boys in the follow-up retesting and reinterview as many of them as possible. Good results were obtained and it was possible to retest 13 and reinterview 14 of the 16 boys who had left the program. Special additional interview schedules (Appendix D, Schedules 4 and 5) were designed for those students who had dropped out to discover their reasons for leaving and their subsequent histories. The findings are reported in Chapter 9. The writer reinterviewed all of these boys in their home communities two years after they had entered the program.

Through all the various kinds of data gathered and analyzed in the study we will be able to answer most of the important questions regarding what kinds of students came to Project ABC and how it affected their lives.

GENERAL REMARKS REGARDING PROBLEMS OF EVALUATION RESEARCH

In the preceding chapter it was noted that although there are many new programs for compensatory education of disadvantaged high school students, including a number connected with colleges and universities; relatively few had undertaken evaluation studies and that thus far little has been published on the subject. Perhaps it may be appropriate to discuss briefly why this may be so and consider some of the problems and difficulties in evaluation research.

Psychologists and social scientists who have been trained to demand methodological rigor and careful control of their research designs are inclined to eschew the complexities, imprecision, and uncertainties of ongoing, real-life situations. So much is uncertain and the necessary investment of time and effort is too great to attract the researcher who is after relatively certain and immediate results. Evaluative research is costly and time consuming and all too few social scientists can be assured of the continuing support to undertake such evaluative studies even if they desired to. The fate of this present study was often in jeopardy and without the unwavering support of the administrative officers of Dartmouth College would neither have been initiated nor completed. Unfortunately worthwhile studies of programs at other institutions appear to have floundered when the going got rough - and it has been very rough in the recent past!

Another difficulty is the sensitive and touchy nature of evaluation studies. People tend to be apprehensive and resist scrutiny. Many compensatory education programs have been auspiciously initiated and attracted considerable favorable publicity. Occasionally further favorable reports are heard from them, but little in the way of objective examination and solid documentation of the full results. But the newspaper or magazine article or even the or even the foundation report of encouraging beginnings is no substitute for a careful and hard look at what actually has been accomplished. To produce what is necessary for a candid and full evaluation, the institution or program must give a researcher a mandate to try to discover and report the full story. Before designing this research the writer had the assurance that it was the genuine desire of Dartmouth College and Project ABC that a full and accurate report be rendered. Without this assurance and its complete honoring this report could not have been written.

But even with satisfactory guarantees of financial and moral support and cooperation, evaluation research is difficult. A very full account of the difficulties in the evaluation of the Yale Summer High School for disadvantaged students has been given by Klein (1968). We, too, experiences many of the same difficulties and would echo his excellent statement of the problems of total evaluation of ongoing action programs. He discusses such matters as the lack of control of various component features, the difficulties of collecting data from many sources, the scarcity of appropriate instruments, the attrition of controls, the problems of ensuring understanding and cooperation from all parties, protecting the confidential nature of certain material, and appropriately defining the role of the researcher. Of the two possible roles of "traditional researcher" and "action researcher", both of which have their difficulties as Klein describes, the present writer tended to choose the somewhat safer and better defined role of the "traditional researcher", - detached and removed from policy and day-to-day decision making on the operation of the program. We strongly agree with Klein's comments that:

> "The researchers have to spend time learning the intricacies and problems of the total program, and then patiently educate the administration to further enhance their understanding of the necessity for research, and the requirements of the research design,

> so that they appreciate what is involved in a valid, empirical assessment of their program.
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> "...We strongly believe, even with all of the difficulties enumerated above, dealing with the independent stance of the researcher, that this stance still offers the most valid way of assessing an ongoing innovative program in which the people responsible for the program are deeply invested in its success. Furthermore, we feel that many of the problems encountered by the researcher can be minimized or avoided by clarifying at the outset his role, responsibilities and stance *vis a vis* administrators, students, and teachers."
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> (Klein, 1968, pp. 19-21)

Fortunately for this study the necessary favorable conditions for research were clearly spelled out and observed. The intended data was collected and the analysis completed, with the results to be reported in the following chapters.

CHAPTER 3

SELECTION AND CHARACTERISTICS OF ABC STUDENTS

To properly evaluate an educational program it is necessary to know the characteristics of the participating students and manner of their selection. Attempting to judge the results and "product" of an educational program or institution causes one to wonder how much "credit" can be attributed to actual accomplishments of the educational program and how much should rather be attributed to the initial characteristics of entering students. While not denying that very important educational influences are present in programs of quality; one must wonder to what extent the later outstanding accomplishments of graduates of prestigeful academic institutions are almost inevitable given the selected character and high abilities of entering students. In short, characteristics of entering students inevitably play a great part in determining educational outcomes. Therefore, it is necessary to have accurate knowledge of student characteristics in order to fairly assess accomplishments. For this reason we will consider relevant information regarding the selection and characteristics of the ABC students. We will examine how students come to apply to Project ABC, how they are selected, and what are some of their major characteristics.

REFERRAL AND SELECTION PROCEDURES

A major function of the Project ABC talent search staff is the recruitment of qualified students and referral of their applications to the participating secondary schools. During the first years (and at the time the group of boys we are studying applied) the referring and coordinating agency was known as the Independent Schools Talent Search Program (ISTSP) with headquarters in Hanover, New Hampshire. Later the organization moved to Boston and was renamed ABC: A BETTER CHANCE - Independent Schools Talent Search. It coordinates the independent school and public high school talent search programs and the summer transitional programs at various participating colleges and universities. Despite the change in location and growth of various programs, its operation has remained basically the same with continuity in its membership and aims. We will present the application and selection procedures followed at the time of entrance of the Dartmouth ABC '65 class we are studying in depth, but the same general characteristics hold for previous and subsequent classes and for those attending other ABC programs.

The ISTSP staff under the leadership of its Executive Director and with the help of Associate Directors and Field Representatives served as liaison agents between the participating schools, supporting foundations and agencies, and local representatives and organizations in the students' home communities. This talent search program was initially supported entirely by contribution of the member independent schools and by funds from the Charles E. Merrill Trust and the Rockefeller

Foundation. As the program grew there was also support from the Office of Economic Opportunity. The scholarship funds for the students have been provided initially by the independent schools entirely, and in later periods by additional funds from the Office of Economic Opportunity and contributions from private sources including individuals and corporations. In the group of 82 Dartmouth ABC '65 students we are studying, 42 scholarships were supported by the independent schools and 40 scholarships were supported by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

The ISTSP functions primarily as a recruiting and referral agency, with the actual selection of individual students remaining as the decision of the participating independent schools. Because the selection of students remained the prerogative of the schools and they exercised their own selection criteria, there inevitably was not complete uniformity in admissions policies and undoubtedly great variability. Alternative methods of student selection and assignment to the schools had been considered but were rejected primarily because of the desire of the schools to control their own admissions, and because it was also argued that the schools probably would be more satisfied with students they themselves had selected rather than had assigned to them. Obviously there would otherwise be real difficulties in determining by whom and how the students should be assigned to various schools. So it was decided that the schools themselves should retain the authority for admissions decisions.

It was arranged that prospective students would apply to the ABC-ISTSP central office and that their application folders would be distributed to the various member schools for their screening and admissions procedures. If accepted, in the spring the student was offered contingent admission to a specific preparatory school with the understanding that he was to successfully complete the ABC summer transitional program at Dartmouth before he would be admitted to that independent school in the fall.'

Obviously because of the many participating independent schools and the inevitable variability in their criteria for admissions, we can present no clear and uniform picture of the specific selection criteria. However, from the information we had at time of application and gathered subsequently we can give a detailed presentation of the characteristics of the students who were accepted to the ABC program and the independent schools.

In the local communities the ISTSP has attempted to develop a continuing organization for purposes of recruiting and helping interested students. As the program developed recruitment was done through "resource persons" in the home community. These resource persons included high school principals, teachers, guidance counselors, social workers, ministers, Urban League members, college and school alumni, and other interested individuals. The ISTSP staff endeavored to coordinate the efforts of these resource people, to insure that they were well informed regarding the nature of the program and to encourage them in their efforts on behalf of the program. The resource people represented and publicized the ABC program in the local community and encouraged students to apply and helped them in making application. It was expected and has usually proved to be the case that the resource people would provide continuing help to the students and their families after they had entered the independent schools. The efforts of these resource people throughout the country in rural and urban areas have been the major means whereby the ABC program has been represented locally and students have been recruited. By now the number of resource people is in the hundreds and is a group distinguished by high involvement and community concern. (Without the willing help of many such resource people throughout the country this evaluation and particularly certain aspects of the follow-up study would have been impossible.)

Obviously the character of the resource people was an important influence on the kind of students that applied. Because of their positions in the local schools and home communities and their personal concern, the resource people sought to discover and encourage talented disadvantaged students. The resource people undoubtedly are generally "solid citizens" who feel that better educational opportunity represents a significant avenue of advance for the disadvantaged. Clearly the students whom they recruited and referred to the program would generally share these views. Given the character of the program and its representatives it would be anticipated that the students and families who applied would be motivated to change their life circumstances and future opportunities through educational advancement. Thus, by reason of the character of the program, it was probable that academically motivated and striving students would be recruited. So it would be expected that ABC students would be outstanding, and probably atypical, boys in their communities.

To give a clearer idea of the kind of students for which the ABC program was designed and a fuller understanding of the selection criteria it will be helpful to present some representative statements from the formative period of the program which have continued as policy guidelines. These statements indicate the philosophy and goals of Project ABC and the kind of students sought. One of the initial announcements in 1964 came from Charles F. Dey, first Director of the Project ABC summer program and Associate Dean of Dartmouth College:

> "Negroes and other educationally disadvantaged groups face a deepening and dangerous frustration of their aroused desires for equal opportunity unless more individuals from these groups can be qualified for a college education and participation in the leadership sector of our society. Too often, academic and cultural deprivation stand between 'promising prospects' and admission to college. Progress on the problem requires action at all levels and in various ways, but any swift substantial improvement will depend upon qualifying more candidates for college from boys and girls now in the early stages of their secondary schooling. Dartmouth College and a group of independent secondary schools have joined together to offer these students A Better Chance.
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> "Dartmouth is conducting a special summer tutorial program for ninth and tenth grade students. Those students making satisfactory progress in the Dartmouth program will be enrolled, with financial aid, at one

of the participating independent schools.

"Students: They will represent a racial mixture, although perhaps as many as thirty-five of the fifty will be Negro. Insofar as it can be determined, these students will have the mental capacity for college education. They will be from low-income families living in educationally and culturally deprived sectors of our society.

"These will be young people who most probably will not qualify for college if they continue in their present surroundings. They will be academic 'risks' in the sense that they will need special preparation and intensive tutoring if they are to have an even chance of succeeding in a more competitive academic environment. However, this is not a program in which we are attempting to motivate the unmotivated - students must want to participate...

"Program: We believe the eight week period will be most effectively used if we focus our energies and resist the temptation to 'remake' human beings. We expect each student to absorb culture and education beyond the limits of classroom and tutorial, but the core and commitment of the academic program is to teach these youngsters communication and mathematics; how more effectively to read, write, speak English, and master basic algebraic concepts. Subordinate themes will emphasize study techniques, writing examinations and use of the library.

"Staff: The staff will comprise eight to ten experienced secondary school teachers recruited from the Dartmouth faculty and secondary schools, and eight to ten Dartmouth undergraduates who will serve as resident-tutors.

"Selection: The Independent Schools Talent Search Program, through its field representative, Mr. James E. Simmons, has assumed principal responsibility for identifying prospective ABC students. Mr. Simmons is working with principals, teachers, guidance counselors, social welfare agencies, church groups and other community resources.

"Continuity: It is our hope that all of the students will make satisfactory progress at Dartmouth and subsequently enter one of the independent schools. However, for a few, the transition may seem unwise. An evaluation committee composed of summer program staff and secondary school respresentatives will advise which students, if any, cannot be recommended even as 'risks' to go on to independent secondary schools...

"The participating secondary school, in admitting

> an ABC student, is also committing itself to necessary scholarship aid for as long as the student remains in good standing. Dartmouth will have no official responsibility for the student after he has completed the summer program, though for purposes of subsequent evaluation, the staff will follow the progress of ABC students in the independent schools."
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> (Dey, 1964a)

A later statement made in the Director's report on the 1965 ABC program and based on the first two years experience has additional relevance to the consideration of the kinds of students Project ABC was attempting to recruit.

> "...As the program has expanded, students have been recruited increasingly through 'resource persons' - the professional man, the minister, the social worker, the teacher or guidance counselor - people usually in the best position to establish a candidate's personal qualities - motivation and sense of purpose, integrity and curiosity. And, since these students are identified as 'risk' candidates, it is important that ABC and subsequently the member schools have as much information about these personal qualities as possible. An increasingly important function of the ISTSP staff is to coordinate the efforts of these resource people, to see that they are well-informed about the program and to encourage them as much as possible in their efforts on behalf of the program...
>
> "We believe it particularly important that we use ABC-ISTSP scholarships for those students most in need of educational alternatives. We must be careful not to go after those students already identified as promising, sought after by other programs and virtually assured of college admission. Ideally, our program should serve disadvantaged students whose college futures are not assured, whose immediate futures are cloudy. On the other hand, these are neither the C students nor the unmotivated. They must have shown sufficient promise to persuade us that it is both reasonable and fair to encourage them to enter preparatory school. They should be students in need of academic challenge or change of environment, students who, if given the chance, will aggressively help themselves." (Dey, 1965b)

These statements clarify the kind of students Project ABC was designed for and hoped to attract. They were to be from disadvantaged minority groups, predominantly Negro but with representation of other ethnic groups. Their home communities should be economically impoverished with inadequate local schools and limited educational opportunities. Though coming from such disadvantaged backgrounds, the prospective students were to have shown potential and ability and be marked by a desire and drive to improve their lot.

Thus it is clear that the students to be recruited were not the "hard core" problems from poor school systems. Many important and disturbing studies have amply documented the severe academic handicaps and widespread educational retardation of disadvantaged minority group members in poor school systems (Clark, 1965, pp. 117-125, Coleman, 1966; Conant, 1961; Deutsch, 1967; Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited, HARYOU, 1964; Passow, 1963; Pettigrew, 1964, pp. 100-135; Riessman, 1962). These studies have shown the mean scores on achievement tests in reading and arithmetic of disadvantaged minority group children to be far below national norms, and because of "cumulative deficit" to fall increasingly further behind in later grades. Careful analysis of this data indicates that class level rather than racial or ethnic background is the critical variable affecting lower scores. Thus there is convincing evidence that generally the academic and scholastic performance of disadvantaged children is greatly impaired.

Yet there is enormous variability among disadvantaged students in poor schools as careful examination of the relevant data reveals. Despite the general and widespread academic handicaps of most of these children, some do perform well. Little study has been done of school achievers from deprived backgrounds. One such investigation (Davidson & Greenburg 1967) while certainly not minimizing the general academic handicaps and educational problems of disadvantaged students as a group; warned of the dangers of stereotyping the entire group of students and ignoring the wide variability and individual differences:

> "The data presented herein challenged a number of prevailing stereotypes of lower-class children, particularly lower-class Negro youngsters. These children have been characterized as showing educational and intellectual retardation, verbal deficiency and poor abstract ability, inadequate self-concept, poor motivation, lack of control and impulsivity, resentment of authority, relatively poor health, and inadequate homes.
>
> "Rather than presenting a uniform picture of deficiency, our sample of Negro children from a severely deprived environment exhibited considerable variability."
>
> (Davidson & Greenberg, 1967, p. 113)

The authors of that study present considerable data regarding the characteristics of high achieving students as contrasted to low achieving students in their sample of fifth grade students from Negro families of low socio-economic status in central Harlem. Later we refer to their findings, but for the present the point to be made is that there are high achievers from disadvantaged minority groups to be found in poor schools.

Increasing recognition of the educational and social problems of the poor has generated much concern and discussion. Appropriate terminology and the implications of various descriptive labels have been one focus of debate. The terms "poor", "disadvantaged", "underprivileged", "culturally deprived", have all been used and variously criticized. To whom the terms should apply and their implications have been discussed by Rees (1968, pp. 7-33) and by Havinghurst(1964) and are considered in collections of papers on the subject (Frost & Hawkes 1968; Glazer & Creedon 1968; Webster 1966). We do not wish to enter this debate regarding proper terminology but merely state that because of the criteria used in their selection the ABC students are most appropriately described as "poor" or "economically disadvantaged". We would question the applicability of such terms as "culturally deprived" and perhaps even "educationally deprived". The bases for these comments will become clearer as we shortly consider relevant information on the characteristics of the ABC students.

In brief, Project ABC sought to recruit promising students from disadvantaged backgrounds and poor school systems that were not offering them sufficient opportunity to realize their potential. The aim was to select talented and motivated students from school systems where educational opportunities were limited. While the students should be considered promising, it was felt those selected should be boys whose further education and chances for college were not assured. It must be evident that these criteria are somewhat lacking in specificity and that the determination of exactly who met these characteristics often was far from clear. According to the stated aims the program did not wish to select students whose entrance to good colleges was virtually assured, neither did it wish to select students whose future college potential was highly dubious. Instead the aim was to have a high proportion of "risk candidates", students whose abilities and motivation were strong but who required the preparation of a summer transitional program and further years of high quality education if they were to enter and survive in competitive quality colleges. How successfully this aim was attained will best be judged on the research evidence regarding the characteristics of the students at time of entrance to the program and the data on their subsequent performance.

It should be noted that the volume of applications for admission to the ABC program has been very great relative to the number of students that could be admitted, despite considerable growth in the number of participating secondary schools and efforts to raise scholarship funds from a variety of sources. For the ABC '65 entering group there were close to 300 applications for the 82 openings in the Dartmouth ABC program for boys and the 70 positions in the Mount Holyoke program for girls. Though the number of available scholarships has increased over the years, the ratio of applications to openings has continued very high. (See Appendix B, Tables 1 and 2, for enrollment figures over the first five years.)

CHARACTERISTICS OF DARTMOUTH ABC '65 STUDENTS

Much information concerning the characteristics and backgrounds of ABC students was gathered during the course of the evaluation research. Some information came from the original application forms, some from testing at the time of application and entry into the program, and some from interviews with the students. This chapter presents an overall picture of the characteristics of the Dartmouth ABC '65 students. Later, in Chapter 8, we will discuss which characteristics bore significant relation to the academic performance and social adjustment. For the present we are concerned to describe the kinds of boys that entered the program.

DATA FROM APPLICATION FORMS. Some general background characteristics of the Dartmouth ABC '65 boys are presented in Appendix B, Tables 3a and 3b. As half were supported by scholarship funds from the independent schools and half by funds from the Office of Economic Opportunity, there is separate presentation of data from the two groups. The two groups were similar in background, but the OEO supported boys had somewhat lower family income and parental education levels.

The ages of entering students ranged from 12 to 16 years, with the majority (80%) being 13 or 14 years old at time of entrance. School grade completed at time of entrance ranged from 7th to 11th with the majority having just completed 8th or 9th grade.

The geographical distribution of the ABC '65 boys was roughly: 40% from metropolitan New York, 25% from other eastern cities, 20% from southern cities and rural areas, 5% from mid-western cities and 10% from the far west, mainly rural. Racial and ethnic backgrounds were: 70% Negro, 10% White, 10% American Indian, 9% Puerto Rican, and 2% Oriental. Religious backgrounds were: 74% Protestant, 11% Catholic, and 14% with none designated.

The education of the boys' fathers ranged from 3rd grade to M.D., with 11th grade being the mean. There were 16% who had attended college and 9% who had graduated. (In the very few cases where a boy's father had received a medical or law degree he was deceased and the family was now supported by the mother.) The fathers of 16% had not completed grade school. The fathers of 59% had not graduated high school. The occupations of the fathers were predominantly unskilled manual labor or unskilled white collar.

The mothers' education ranged from 3rd grade to A.B.. It averaged 11th grade, with 12% not having graduated grade school and 49% not graduated high school. College had been attended by 17% of the mothers and 6% had graduated. Most mothers were housewives. The majority of working mothers were in unskilled labor (domestics) or minor white collar jobs. A few were teachers or nurses.

Family income reported on the application blanks ranged from being unemployed and on relief to $8,500. The average family income was $4,320; with 29% on welfare or with reported incomes under $3,000. The number of dependent children in the families ranged from one to 8, with 3 as the average, and 38% of the boys came from broken homes.

DATA FROM ACADEMIC TESTS. Intelligence and achievement tests were administered to the ABC students at time of application to the program or soon after their entrance. These data show quite high levels of intelligence and achievement for the group as a whole (Appendix C, Table 5). The average Otis I.Q. scores were 115 points with a range from 90 to 140. Thus the mean "I.Q." of ABC students was one standard deviation above the mean of the general population norm. In short, most of the ABC boys are bright, with very few having low scores. Interestingly, they seem to score somewhat higher on traditional verbal measures of intelligence than on a "non-verbal" or "culture fair" test.

English achievement test scores showed them to average in the 70th to 80th percentiles on national high school norms. On the same tests where independent school norms were available they averaged in the 30th to 40th percentile. Thus it was clear from the testing that the majority of the ABC students scored well above average on national norms, but in terms of independent school norms they averaged lower. However, as inspection of the tables will reveal, while generally a highly selected group, there was considerable spread in the academic performance of the ABC students on the entering tests.

DATA FROM PERSONALITY INVENTORIES. At time of application to the program the students also took various personality inventories. Later chapters will present the changes found on retesting in the two-year follow-up study and discuss the characteristics of the tests and interpretation of the changes. The original scores on these tests are presented in Appendix C, Tables 6,7,8 and 9; however, we will not now go into lengthy discussion of the tests, but merely use them to indicate some characteristics that seem particularly marked for the ABC students. These impressions come from plotting the mean group scores of the ABC students against the national high school standardization norms where available.

On the Cattell High School Personality Questionnaire (HSPQ) the profile for the mean scores of ABC students was elevated on factor Q^3 (sten score 8) indicating "High self-concept control" with suggested traits of "controlled, socially-precise, self-disciplined, compulsive". The ABC mean group profile was somewhat outside the middle range on four other factor scales: G,I,O and Q^4. The significance of these slight departures from general standardization norms for high school boys suggested some additional typical characteristics of the ABC boys. The G factor suggests "Strong super-ego strength" with indicated traits of "conscientious, persevering, staid, and rule-bound". The I factor score measures the trait of "Premsia" with indicated traits of "tender-mindedness, dependent, over-protected, sensitive". The low score on factor scale "O Untroubled adequacy" suggests traits of "self-assured, passive, secure, serene". Low score on factor scale "Q^4 Low ergic tension" suggests traits of "relaxed, tranquil, torpid, and unfrustrated". Thus the mean group profile on the Cattell "HSPQ" indicated some tendency for the ABC students to differ from the high school groups (presumably predominantly White middle-class students) on whom the test had been standardized. The ABC boys as a group seemed to be characterized by self-control, conscientiousness, tender-mindedness, self-assurance and relaxed nature. Whether this group profile would be typical of other disadvantaged students is, of course, not clear. However, it is the writer's opinion that these characteristics hold for this particular group of achieving disadvantaged boys. As we consider the comments of the boys themselves in later interviews and as we consider their performance in the program we will discover some of the reasons why this characterization seems an accurate one.

The mean group profiles of the ABC students were also examined on other personality and interest inventories, including the Gough California Psychological Inventory "CPI" and the Guilford-Schneidman-Zimmerman Interest Inventory. The group profile on these inventories did not show any particularly distinctive features. However, as will be seen in later chapters these inventories did show significant changes over a two-year period and significant correlations with the students academic performance and social adjustment.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION FROM INTERVIEWS WITH ABC STUDENTS. In addition to the information from the applications and the initial testing, much information was obtained from interviews with the students. Close to the end of the 8-week summer program all boys still attending the program were interviewed by the writer. These interviews included 80 boys of the original starting group of 82. (Two boys had left early in the summer program; their reasons for leaving, as well as those of all the additional students who dropped out subsequently, will be discussed in Chapter 9.) The interview schedule is presented in Appendix D, Schedule 1. The topics covered included home and family, community and previous schooling, and future plans. The students' responses to the questions were coded and punched for statistical analysis. We will review this data for relevant information on the backgrounds and attitudes of the ABC students.

According to the boys' reports, in 65% of the cases their parents were still living together; in 14% the parents had separated; in 13% they had divorced and in 8% the family had been broken by the death of a parent. It is difficult to obtain figures for comparable groups of disadvantaged students because of the wide geographical spread of areas from which the ABC students came. However, it does appear probable that more ABC students come from intact homes than is the case for comparable groups. The HARYOU statistics on central Harlem showed 50% of the children under 18 years of age living with both parents; the Moynihan report found approximately one-fourth of Negro families in the northeast headed by females and over one-third of non-White urban children living in broken homes (Davidson & Greenberg, 1967, pp. 82-85). The Davidson & Greenberg study showed 58% of their high achieving boys and only 42% of their low achieving boys with the father present in the home (p. 83). For the ABC students 64% lived with both parents; 26% lived with the mother; 5% lived with other relatives; 1% lived with the father and 3% lived with foster parents. The ABC student then show roughly comparable family backgrounds with other disadvantaged groups, but perhaps a somewhat higher tendency to come from intact families with the father present.

The ABC boys reported that while they were growing up their fathers had been home a lot in 69% of the cases; a fair amount in 13%; very little in 10%; and not at all in 8%. The fathers of 44% of the boys were born in the deep South; 21% were born outside the mainland United States (mainly Puerto Rico, the West Indies and a few from Hawaii and the Orient); the remaining 37% came from Border, Northern, Mid-western or Plains states. The fathers' community of longest residence was reported to be a large metropolitan area in 53% of the cases and only about 10% were reported to have lived most of their lives in rural areas or on reservations.

The boys' reports of the level of education completed by their fathers were:

9% Don't know

9%	Sixth grade or below
25%	Junior high (7th, 8th, or 9th grade)
23%	High school (10th, 11th, or 12th grades; did not graduate)
19%	High school graduate
4%	Post high school (technical, vocational schools)
5%	College (did not graduate)
4%	College graduate
4%	Post college degrees (medicine, law, etc.)

According to the students' reports the occupations of their fathers were:

9%	Don't know
43%	Unskilled manual
21%	Semi-skilled manual
1%	Skilled manual
6%	Unskilled white collar
6%	Semi-skilled white collar
7%	Skilled white collar or small business
3%	Professional
4%	Farmer, rancher, or farmhand, ranchhand

The students reported in 78% of the cases that the father was steadily employed and in 11% was occasionally or often unemployed; the remaining 11% did not know. The boys' evaluation of the kind of work their fathers did and the kind of life they had had was mixed in 13% of the cases; negative in 29%; fairly positive in 49% of the cases; the remaining 10% ventured no opinion.

In 69% of the cases the natural father was present; in 18% the natural father was absent and there was no father surrogate; and in 14% there was a father surrogate present. In 9% of the cases the father surrogate was reported to be a stepfather; in 3% a grandfather and in 1% some other male. In most cases where there was a father surrogate, he had attended high school or graduated. The predominant occupational level of father surrogates was unskilled manual and all were steadily employed.

In 88% of the cases the boys reported that their mothers had been at home most of the time when they were growing up. Only 11% said that she was not present much and in just 3% of the cases was she completely absent. The students reported they had been primarily cared for by the mother in 84% of the cases, by a grandmother in 11%, by an aunt in 4% and by a foster mother in 1%. They reported in 98% of the cases that their mother was still living. The mothers birthplace was the deep South for 40% of the cases; outside mainland United States for 20% and in Border, Northern, Mid-western or Plains states for 40%. There were 74% of the mothers who had resided most of their lives in northern or western states, while the remainder had lived mainly in the South.

The level of mothers' education reported by the students showed the following distribution:

1%	Don't know
5%	Sixth grade or below

16%	Junior high school (7th, 8th, or 9th grade)
28%	High school (10th, 11th, or 12th grade; did not graduate)
33%	High school graduate
5%	Post high school (technical, vocational, or secretarial school)
6%	College (did not graduate)
4%	College graduate
3%	Post college (nursing, teacher training, etc.)

Thus the reported educational levels of the mothers tended to be somewhat higher than those of the fathers.

In 45% of the cases the mothers did not work outside the home, while in 55% they had some outside employment. Most outside employment was as unskilled manual workers, mainly domestics. About 12% had white collar jobs and 4% had skilled white collar jobs (teaching, nursing, social work). Most of those employed had part-time jobs (less than 8 hours a day). Only about 25% were employed full time, and in most cases this had only been since the children were older. There were 53% of the boys who had mixed feelings or felt their mother's lives had been difficult, while 47% felt that their lives had not been particularly difficult and mainly positive.

Less than 10% of the boys had been raised by a mother surrogate, and in those cases it was generally a grandmother or aunt.

The ABC boys were also asked questions regarding their siblings. They reported that they were only children in 5% of the cases; the eldest in 34% of the cases; a middle child in 36% and the youngest of siblings in 25%. There were no older brothers for 60% of the boys; one for 28%; and 2 or 3 for 12%. In only 7% of the cases had older brothers dropped out of high school. The majority of those who did have older brothers reported that they were presently attending or had completed high school, and a number were in college. Only 19% of the boys had older brothers who were employed (most were still attending school). Those older brothers who were working were mainly employed in unskilled manual work.

In 63% of the cases the boys had no older sisters; 20% had one; and 18% had 2 or 3. The majority of those who had older sisters reported them presently in, or having completed high school. Only 4% of the boys had older sisters who had dropped out of high school. Most of the older sisters were continuing in high school or attending college. Those who were working had mainly white collar jobs.

In 30% of the cases there were no younger children in the family. The number of younger siblings reported was 1 for 24% of the cases; 2 or 3 for 26%; 4 to 6 for 16%; and 7 or more for 4%.

The size and location of the boys home community showed the following distribution:

55%	Large city (500,000 plus)
21%	Medium city (100,000 to 500,000)

9%	Small city (10,000 to 100,000)
3%	Small town or village (to 10,000)
3%	Suburb
4%	Rural or farm area
6%	Reservation

In 60% of the cases the boys reported their local neighborhood was racially mixed, while in 40% it was not. Their comments on physical conditions in the local neighborhood were favorable in 56% of the cases; mixed in 16%; and negative in 28% (i.e. the neighborhood was described as run-down, deteriorated or a slum). In 48% of the cases the comments on behavior and social conditions in the local community was positive; in 13% mixed; and in 30% negative (i.e. gangs, crime, delinquency, addiction, etc. reported). Obviously it was difficult for the interviewer to judge the accuracy of these reports in most cases. However there were occasions where boys from areas known for their deterioration and high incidence of social problems had described their neighborhood in rather positive terms. Therefore, these reports are probably more indicative of the boy's own awareness or attitudes towards his neighborhood rather than the social conditions as judged by an outside observer.

Discussing various features of the home community that they liked the following percentages were obtained:

60%	Recreational facilities (parks, playgrounds, libraries, museums)
58%	People
56%	General appearance (attractive, nice neighborhood)
11%	Schools
5%	General liveliness and activity
8%	Nothing mentioned

In the entire group, the percentages mentioning various aspects of the local community they disliked and wished were different were:

41%	Behavior of local residents (apathy, inconsiderateness, sloppiness, etc.)
35%	General appearance (run-down, deteriorating)
31%	Crime, gangs, violence, addiction
14%	Lack of recreational facilities
9%	Poor schools
6%	Specific mention of poverty
38%	Nothing mentioned

They mentioned the following as problems for boys growing up in their local community:

50%	Drop-outs, not completing high school
46%	Delinquency, gangs and crime
30%	Little opportunity for advancement
9%	Family problems
3%	Inadequate schools
3%	Lack of recreational facilities
30%	Nothing mentioned

Regarding schooling, 95% had attended public schools and 5% parochial schools. There were 81% who had attended racially integrated schools, while 19% were in schools that were still segregated. According to their reports 19% had been in completely non-White schools; 43% in mainly non-White schools, and 20% attended schools where there was approximately an even balance of Whites and non-Whites. For the rest non-White students had been in a minority.

The boys were asked a number of questions regarding their former school and their feelings about it. Their overall evaluation of their previous school was coded as follows:

10%	Very unfavorable and critical
13%	Generally unfavorable
28%	Evenly mixed; good and bad features
36%	Generally favorable
14%	Very favorable

They cited the following school inadequacies:

38%	Overcrowded
28%	Poor teaching
13%	Not enough teachers
11%	Poor course selection (no special programs, etc.)
6%	Inadequate facilities
39%	Nothing mentioned

They cited the following as specific aspects or features of their former school that they liked:

75%	Teachers
46%	Overall facilities
43%	Particular courses
36%	Recreational facilities
19%	Other students, friends
5%	Nothing mentioned

They cited the following as specific aspects or features of their former school that they disliked:

45%	Behavior of other students (unruliness, lack of discipline, disinterest, apathy)
21%	Specific teachers
18%	Deteriorated condition and inadequate facilities
18%	Poor courses
8%	Lack of recreational facilities and activities
28%	Nothing mentioned

It is undoubtedly of significance that such high proportions of the ABC boys reported that they had liked individual teachers or teachers generally at their former school, and that they had disliked the behavior of other students. Such response reflects the particular character of the ABC selection process. The program attracts and selects students from poor school systems who have been performing well academically. It would appear that these boys have related well to their teachers and may feel themselves somewhat apart from their schoolmates who were not as striving and achievement oriented. This interpretation of their responses to interview questions is also supported by the personality inventory profiles discussed earlier that showed the mean group profile of the ABC students as high on self-control, conscientiousness, tender-mindedness, self-assurance. This evidence indicates that the ABC boys are a socially controlled and conscientious group who relate well to adult authority and have the kind of characteristics necessary for good school performance. It also suggests that they may be somewhat apart and "marginal men" with respect to their peers at home. Other evidence to be presented in later chapters will also support this interpretation. Many of these boys already appeared to have separated themselves from their peers at home and through scholastic achievement hoped to move out of the confines of their disadvantaged situation.

Yet the boys also indicated that they were not without some hesitation and uncertainty regarding leaving home and moving to the independent schools. Asked how they felt about leaving their former school and going to independent preparatory schools, their responses were:

1%	Very negative
4%	Fairly negative or indifferent
49%	Mixed feelings
21%	Fairly positive
25%	Very positive

The specific regrets and fears about leaving home and attending independent school mentioned by the boys were:

51%	Leaving old friends
24%	Fear of academic failure
18%	Leaving family
13%	Missing former social life and activities
9%	Leaving girlfriends
5%	Leaving general community atmosphere
31%	Nothing mentioned

The specific reasons they cited for being glad they were going to independent school were:

64%	New challenges and opportunities at the schools
58%	Extracurricular activities and facilities
50%	Better schooling, emphasis on academic features
36%	Better future opportunities (college, later employment, etc.)
10%	Making new friends
8%	Pleasing family and friends
4%	Glad to be leaving home
5%	Nothing mentioned

It appears that the attitudes of most ABC boys were positive regarding their impending change to independent preparatory school and the possibilities and opportunities they would encounter. However, as is to be expected many did have questions and voiced regrets about leaving their homes and former schools.

The boys were also asked whether they had thought much in the past about their future plans and possible occupations. It was reported by 51% that they had thought a great deal about future occupations and had clear ideas; 44% had given some consideration to the matter; and only 5% had not thought about it. The *occupational levels of the vocations desired by the students* were:

8%	Don't know
1%	Skilled manual
14%	Professional athlete or entertainer
18%	Skilled white collar or small business
41%	Semi-professional (high school teaching, engineering, social work, etc.)
56%	Professional (medicine, law, science)

Their stated *interests or plans in specific occupational areas* included:

68%	Science and technology (research, engineering, pilot)
18%	Law
15%	Teaching (high school or college)
14%	Medicine
11%	Business
10%	Sports and entertainment
9%	Military service or academies
5%	Humanities and literature
9%	Don't know

Asked what they felt their chances were of attaining their goals, 58% responded good; 15% fair; 14% poor and 14% don't know. In 80% of the cases the boys said their plans had not changed since being accepted by ABC. Those whose plans had changed mentioned higher aspirations since learning they were accepted.

The boys were also asked what *colleges they were considering applying to*. They specifically mentioned colleges in the following categories:

51%	Ivy League schools
21%	Major state universities
20%	Select private colleges and universities
18%	Engineering schools (MIT, Cal Tech, etc.)
10%	Small local colleges
6%	Military academies
1%	Technical or vocational schools

It is evident that the aspiration levels of the ABC students were very high. Given the background and economic situation of their families their goals may seem unusual. However, because of the academic records of most of the boys and their present situation they had some grounds for these hopes. It should also be mentioned that writers well acquainted with disadvantaged adolescents have remarked on the generally high (and often unrealistic) aspirations of such students (Clark 1964 pp. 66-67). In any case the ABC boys certainly desired higher education and aspired toward high level occupations. The predominant vocational interest was in science and technology with considerably lower levels of interest in other fields. Because of past patterns of occupational discrimination it is understandable why such boys might be most oriented to fields where technical competence is more clearly a criterion of merit and advancement. Of course, the general values of a technological society and the traditional appeal of science to adolescent boys also would account for the high level of interest in scientific and technological fields. Later we shall see how these interests change.

REPRESENTATIVE COMMENTS. Statistics lose much of the character of the individual boys, their backgrounds, life experiences and attitudes. While obviously there are general patterns and trends, as with any human group one is impressed by individual diversity. To give some sense of both their varied backgrounds and their shared attitudes, we will summarize background data and excerpt some representative statements from interviews with the ABC boys. These interviews occurred close to the end of their first 8 weeks in the initial summer program.

The attitude of the great majority of the ABC boys toward the summer program and the prospect of independent school in the fall was quite positive, though most had some regrets and questions. However, we will begin with some comments from a Puerto Rican student from New York City who was much more outspokenly ambivalent and critical than the other boys. However, in his attitudes towards school generally he was very typical of the group. This boy's parents, both born in Puerto Rico, were separated. Though he lived occasionally with his mother, he had been primarily taken care of by his grandmother who lived close by. His father had separated from his mother about 5 years earlier and was a seaman, so he had seen rather little of him. His mother had a full-time job as a waitress in a restaurant. Her income was listed as $3,400. One older sister had not finished high school and was married, while the next older sister was working and attending a local college. About his neighborhood and school he commented:

> "We live in a brick three-story apartment near some newer projects. The neighborhood is mainly Puerto Rican, but there is a real mixture with Negroes and Italians too. I really can't complain about it, but there's nothing I care much about there. I hardly ever do anything; I just go with my girl. The neighborhood doesn't please me because it's too dead, there are not enough games and it's too quiet. I don't think there are too many drop-outs around but I really don't know- that's their business. I just go home and mind my business.
>
> "I was going to a new school that was in pretty good condition; but it was overcrowded and didn't have any special programs. But I always was on the honor roll. The school didn't have the greatest reputation because there were lots of fights and brawls. The teaching is all right, but there was some I didn't like and that I knew didn't like me. The kids were real wise and fresh to the teachers and each other. The place didn't have a good reputation, but I just kept my nose clean...
>
> "I like the city: the noise, the fights, the accidents. I dislike the quiet up here. The country is like being hemmed in a big jail with nothing to do. The country is really nothing! My prep school will be in the country too, but it's an opportunity I can't pass up...I really wanted to stay in the city this

> summer. I feel as if my summer is taken away from me and I didn't want to waste 8 weeks up here. But I had no choice - when my mother heard I had to go to the summer program she insisted. Everyone was for ABC back home, except my girl who didn't want me to go. I felt low and didn't feel like coming at all. It has been murder up here, a lot of work, real hard. I feel pretty bad about giving up 8 weeks of summer and I'm not joyous about going right back to school. I've never had such work. I hate my life being scheduled and planned. I like to take things as they come. I'm looking forward to going home. But still I'm afraid I won't make it, I'd be afraid to go back to school and face all those people after all that has been done for me." (Case 001)

In later chapters we will hear further from this boy and about his adjustment to independent school. At the time of the interview his career plans were to become a technical engineer or possibly study navigation.

A boy with much more positive initial attitude to the program was an American Indian student from a reservation on the Plains. His parents had been separated for most of his life and he lived with his maternal grandmother. Though his parents lived close by on the reservation, he saw rather little of them and was not sure whether they had remarried but thought they had. His grandmother was on welfare. His father had lived most of his life on the reservation and had gone as far as the 9th grade; he worked mainly as a farmhand and was only seasonly employed. His life had been hard. The boy's mother had also lived most of her life on the reservation and worked full time as a maid. He had a younger brother who also lived with the maternal grandmother. Describing his home community and school he reported:

> "We live in a small town of 400 on the reservation. It is a pretty town and most of the buildings are well kept up and most of the people are pretty well off. Some of the tribal customs and ceremonies are kept up and a lot of the people still speak our language. It's a small town far away from other towns. I like all the space around and the secluded areas. I am satisfied there...But a lot of the Indian boys drop out of school, about half of the Indian boys drop out and don't finish high school. It's hard to get jobs, especially good ones. There is some trouble with drinking and occasionally minor trouble with the law, but boys rarely get sent away...I went to the county high school about 16 miles from town. About half the students are Indians. It's an old school but well kept up, though it's starting to get overcrowded. There are between 300 to 400 students. The teaching is all right there. The athletics was what I really liked and some of the teachers, especially my algebra teacher. But generally there were low standards of education. The English had a real low standard.

> "...I really want to go to prep school for the educational part. I have no real regrets, except for leaving the girls. Some of the students who had been to ABC last year pushed me in to talk to the guidance counselor. They liked it and thought I had a real chance. When I learned about it I wanted to try for it right away. The guidance counselor really encouraged me. He said that even if I didn't make prep school the summer at ABC would be good for me. Some of my friends teased me and said what was the use of going to prep school, I'd only have the same chance as the rest, but my parents were willing. I felt good when I was accepted. I felt I could stick it out. I do miss the wide open spaces. I want to go to school in the east and then go back west.
>
> "I want to go into engineering or electronics and have thought about it for a long time. I felt it might be hard, even though I had good grades I needed subjects I couldn't get at home. Now I feel my chances are better and that I can get what I need."
>
> (Case 004)

One of the Negro students was from a small southern town. His family had been intact until his father's death a year earlier. His father had an 11th grade education and had worked steadily as a laborer until his illness. He had a hard and difficult life. His mother worked full time in a laundry. While she was at work, the boy had been cared for by a friend of the family who lived close by. He had one older brother still in high school and a younger brother in the lower grades. Family income was reported to be $1,400. About his home community and previous school he said:

> "We live in a small town of 5,000 people in the middle of farming country. It's a pretty nice town, but the majority of the people are poor. Our own neighborhood is fair and is not very run-down for a Negro neighborhood. I have become accustomed to living there but it's not a good place to grow up. It's highly segregated and the racial feelings are strong. The Whites are real segregationists there. There are a lot of drop-outs. A lot of boys are forced to work by the conditions at home and some just drop out because they're tired of school. It's hard to find a good job, but you can get manual jobs easily. Very few boys get into trouble.
>
> "Because of integration battles I was out of school for a couple of years. The schools were closed and they had to set up training centers in some of the churches. I had a small part-time job in a bowling alley while I was out of school. I joined the NAACP and we had some demonstrations in town. We had boycotts to get jobs and finally helped to get the schools open. In the meantime some of the Negroes and some of the Whites had gone to

> school in other counties. They finally 'integrated' the county high school last year, there were 3 Whites! It was a great school and I loved it and it had good teachers. There were a few teachers who weren't prepared well and couldn't make themselves understood in the classroom, but on the whole they were very good...
>
> "I must say I have some regrets about leaving. I had missed much of my public schooling and feel I missed something there. And I'll miss a few close friends, girls particularly. But now that we have just my Mother, who isn't making much money, I feel this is a great opportunity because it frees her of the burden and helps my two brothers. I heard about Project ABC from two White friends who were with the American Friends Service workers and were on a voter registration drive to help get more Negro voters registered. They told us about it. At first I wasn't listening, but when I heard there was a full scholarship I wanted to try right away. I jumped at the opportunity! I am thinking in terms of giving my Mother a break. She feels great about it and hopes I don't mess up and can stick to it. When I was accepted I didn't know whether to be happy or sad. I had very mixed feelings, but it's a golden opportunity." (Case 076)

This boy hoped to go on to an Ivy League school, study law, and become active in civil rights work.

Another Negro boy from the South came from a family where all the children had shown great drive to get ahead. The father had an 8th grade education and was a construction worker who was occasionally unemployed. The mother worked as a domestic. Family income was listed as $5,300. His 3 older sisters were all college graduates, 2 were teachers and the other a laboratory technician. His older brother was a senior in a southern university studying engineering and hoping to go on to graduate work. They lived in a suburb of a large southern city. About his neighborhood and high school he reported:

> "It is a pleasant neighborhood. The houses are generally well maintained and it is quiet with no trouble. It is a pretty segregated part of town but the general atmosphere is nice and the people are very nice. It's not overcrowded and there is a cleanliness and freshness. There are just a few houses that could use paint and a few lawns that could be better taken care of. There are a few drop-outs and most students graduate high school. Not many boys get into trouble and the job situation is not bad...
>
> "I was in a segregated high school for the whole county, it was all Negro. It was a pretty good school with about 600 students. The buildings were about 25

> years old and were in good condition. In math I was in a special class and I took advanced courses in science. I liked the small classes and the amount of attention,- you could really talk to the teachers. The teachers were good, and I liked the math and science and was a member of the honor society. But some departments like English and history were not as good and they hadn't any advanced programs...I'm glad to be going to preparatory school. I'm not sad but I'm not jubilant to leave because I still like my old school, but I am glad for the opportunity...I had to be convinced a little to apply to prep school. I wanted to see if their program was really good, but I felt better after I visited the school. Everybody encouraged me and my parents were glad I was accepted." (Case 036)

This student wanted to go on in research physics or engineering and had unusually high aptitudes in the sciences.

Another Negro student from a large city in one of the border states came from a family with 7 younger brothers and sisters. The family income was reported as $2,800. His mother and father had had only 5th grade education and the father was employed as a truck driver. About his neighborhood and former school he reported:

> "It's not too good a neighborhood, mainly run-down tenements. It's all Negro with just 2 or 3 White families. There's no trouble there except on Saturday nights when a few people get a little bit high. But generally it's a quiet neighborhood and has been my home all my life. It's close to churches and schools and has a good location, but the houses could be remodeled and the streets need repairing...A lot of the boys don't have enough clothes and some find it hard to get jobs. But most are able to find them or go into the army. Most boys finish high school and keep going generally.
>
> "...The classes are crowded with 30 to 36 students in a classroom but most of the school is new and well kept up. I was satisfied with the teaching because I was in accelerated courses in algebra, English, science, and Latin. I liked the rules and regulations there. It was strict and we didn't have much trouble in our school among the students. I liked most of the teachers. Most of them had finished college and were good teachers and some were still going to college. It was one of the best schools in athletics...I didn't dislike anything about the school...It was segregated, a 100% Negro school with one White teacher.
>
> "I'm glad in a way that I'm going to preparatory school because it will give me a better chance for education. I will miss my old friends, I had a lot of friends among the faculty...Our guidance counselor

> told the boys about the tests we could take to get into Project ABC, but only about two boys took them out of the initially selected group of 15 or 20. When I heard about it and what it meant, I said I'd try it right away. I was enthusiastic. Most people wanted me to come: my teachers because I was the the chairman of the honor society at school, my parents want me to come and were even more happy than I was. I thought I'd better get ready to study hard." (Case 075)

This boy hoped to eventually study physics or medicine.

A Negro student from Harlem came from a broken home. His father, of whom he had seen little in the past 5 years, was a high school graduate and worked as a postal clerk. His stepfather, a high school graduate, worked in the New York subways and was steadily employed. His mother worked nights as a cleaning woman. He described both as having had hard lives. The family income was reported as $2,250. His older sister had graduated high school and was employed as a secretary and he had 5 younger brothers and sisters and half-brothers. He described his local neighborhood and school as follows:

> "We live in the middle of Harlem. It's run-down and there are slums all around. It's an all Negro neighborhood and a rough section with lots of addicts around. There's always excitement, but I could do without that kind. But it's home and after you live there you become used to things and ignore them. I don't like the poverty and wish they could rehabilitate all of Harlem. I don't like the attitude of a lot of the people. They feel inferior and take offense at the littlest thing...The big problem is to survive, I guess. You have to be rough to get through it. There are lots of drop-outs and lots of trouble. There are a lot of young addicts from 16 on up, even a lot of seniors in high school, they seem to be getting younger and younger...
>
> "My junior high school was 90% Negro. It was very old, run-down, defaced, and overcrowded. A lot of the classes had 35 students, but there were 15 in my S.P. classes. The S.P. program was good. There were dedicated teachers and a lot of outside speakers, even the mayor. There were good teachers and interesting people in that program and we learned in a pleasant atmosphere. But the rest of the school was raggedy with no air conditioning and hot. Some of the kids that went to it were bad. They would come to school drunk and give a bad impression to the younger grades. It embarassed the faculty. Those boys felt inferior and were very touchy.
>
> "In a way I am glad to be going to preparatory school because I know the advantages. I'm really

> glad, but I would have gone to a better high school in the city next year so I will miss some of my friends and some of the teachers I had as friends. But generally I have no regrets...My resource person, our guidance counselor, took the top boys in our school and told us if we took the tests and did well we would have a chance at prep school. We wanted to try right away and worked hard to bring our grades up so we could apply. Everybody was behind us. We were coached on ettiquette and donations were received. My parents were very enthusiastic...It was breathtaking." (Case 026)

This boy wanted to go into engineering or accounting and get a well-paying job so he could help his family.

These comments are representative of the kinds of boys in the ABC program. They came from a wide variety of communities and backgrounds but it is clear that most, though having come from generally poor school systems, had been outstanding in their previous academic work. Some of the home situations were broken and disrupted and often the level of parental education and occupations was low. However, most of the boys seemed to have at least some stable and responsible family members who provided security and encouraged them. For many the local communities where they lived were severely disorganized and definite problem areas; however, the boys had generally related to responsible adults and clearly kept out of trouble. Other boys grew up in communities that though poor, were apparently stable and sound. Almost all of the boys had done very well in their former schools and were outstanding students taking full advantage of special programs and opportunities when these were available. Thus, the picture predominantly is one of boys from impoverished and disadvantaged backgrounds who, though they may have had limited educational opportunities in their previous schooling, made good use of what was available. In short, the evidence indicates that the majority of boys who entered Project ABC appeared to meet the selection criteria established in the planning of the program. Clearly there was great range and diversity among the students but the overwhelming majority could be fairly characterized as achieving and striving boys from disadvantaged backgrounds.

CONCLUSIONS

The selection and characteristics of the ABC students has been presented in detail in order to provide a clear understanding of the kind of students in the program. During recent years there have been a variety of compensatory educational programs for disadvantaged students of diverse character and directed to many different kinds of populations. Some conception of the variety of programs is provided in a recent book on deprivation and compensatory education (Rees, 1968, especially pp. 203-234). Because of the widely varying nature of the programs and the very different kinds of students enrolled in them it is necessary to clarify the particular characteristics of the students in Project ABC. This program was not designed for the unmotivated "underachiever" with severe academic handicaps and deficiencies. Rather it selected disadvantaged students who, although they came from schools where educational opportunities were limited, had performed unusually well. They were students who, despite unfavorable circumstances and limited opportunities, were realizing their potential and who should respond enthusiastically to greater educational opportunities.

The magnitude of the educational problems in disadvantaged areas is great as every aware and concerned person realizes. If significant improvement is to take place the major thrust of the efforts must be directed at the local communities and in the local schools. Unless there are immediate massive efforts at this local level the situation can only further deteriorate. This is recognized as a national problem of great magnitude. However, though the problem must ultimately be solved in the local community, if it is to be solved or even significantly improved; the plight of the disadvantaged requires a variety of efforts. Clearly Project ABC is limited in terms of both its size and type of student. Such programs can only play a limited role in attempting to improve educational opportunities for the disadvantaged. Yet it is clear that for many students it is meeting a pressing need. In the disadvantaged sectors of the population there are many talented and striving students seeking avenues to greater opportunity and fulfillment. The promise of "A Better Chance" kindled the enthusiasm of these boys and those who knew them. A candid assessment of the fulfillment or frustration of these hopes is the concern of this study.

CHAPTER 4

THE SUMMER TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM

In the planning of Project ABC it was recognized that taking disadvantaged students from their home schools and communities and placing them in independent preparatory schools probably would put severe pressures, both social and academic, upon the students. It was felt that such an adjustment would be a great challenge for most, and in some cases might prove extremely hard and beyond their capabilities. Though a few students might be able to make the transition easily and without strain; it was expected that most would find it hard and would need prior preparation and support. Therefore from the first year of Project ABC through the present, the majority of ABC students have attended summer transitional programs prior to their entrance to the independent schools in the fall.

The first ABC summer transitional program was started at Dartmouth in 1964 with 50 boys. In the second year the ABC transitional programs included 82 boys at Dartmouth and 70 girls at Mount Holyoke College. In subsequent years there have been ABC summer transitional programs at Dartmouth College, Mount Holyoke College, Carleton College, Duke University, and Williams College enrolling a 5-year total of over 1,000 students. (The summary statistics for all programs are presented in Appendix B, Table 1.) The organization of the programs on the various college campuses has been broadly similar and was developed in conjunction with the Project ABC - Independent Schools Talent Search Program central office. Initially the students coming to the ABC program were all to enter independent secondary schools, but in recent years there have also been a number of students who were to enter public high schools. The first of the public high school programs began in Hanover, New Hampshire in 1966 and enrolled 10 students. There has been a gradual growth in the number of public high schools participating in the program. (See Appendix A for a list of all participating secondary schools.)

This research report is based on the 82 Dartmouth ABC '65 boys all of whom were to attend independent secondary schools. The Dartmouth ABC '65 class was the second class to attend the Dartmouth summer transitional program and we will describe the organization and program as of that year. With minor modifications, it has been basically the same in subsequent years. In order to give a clear idea of the character of the Dartmouth ABC summer transitional program in 1965, we will briefly describe the major characteristics of its staff and the organization of the program both academic and social. A fuller account is presented in the annual report of the Director (Dey, 1965).

DARTMOUTH ABC '65 ADMINISTRATIVE AND TEACHING STAFF

There were 25 members of the Dartmouth ABC '65 staff. It included the Director and Assistant Director and their secretary, and English Program Coordinator and 3 additional English Instructors, a Mathematics

Program Coordinator and 3 additional Mathematics Instructors, 2 Reading Instructors, 10 undergraduate Resident Tutors and an alternate, and the Research Director. The senior instructional staff were all experienced secondary school teachers; half from public high schools in disadvantaged areas and half from independent secondary schools. The staff was racially mixed, with a quarter of the personnel being Negro.

SENIOR FACULTY. The 10 senior faculty members in English, mathematica, and reading were carefully selected for their experience and success in secondary school teaching. They were selected as teachers who were demanding with their students and themselves. They were also selected as individuals willing to commit themselves to the kind of personal involvement with students characteristic of teachers in independent schools. They emphasized "indirect" teaching methods whereby the teacher leads and questions rather than gives the answers. Their concern was to engage the student in the educational process and encourage him to become an active participant through painstaking efforts to develop his own thinking and questioning. This aim was to be furthered by small classes of approximately 10 students with regularly scheduled and frequent conferences with individual boys.

In addition to the demanding teaching role, the faculty also participated extensively in the extracurricular lives of the students. Faculty members and their families lived in family suites in the same dormitories as the students and had frequent informal social contact with them. Every night they ate dinner with the students in a college dining hall, eating for a week with one table of 8 ABC boys and their Resident Tutor before rotating to another table for the next week. Members of the faculty also accompanied the boys to various social events: films, concerts, plays and weekend trips and hikes. Therefore, the contact of the faculty with the ABC students and their involvement was unusually close and personal. They sought to encourage and help each boy to the limit of their abilities. The task was demanding and their efforts were great.

RESIDENT TUTORS. The 10 Resident Tutors were Dartmouth undergraduates who lived in the dormitories with the boys. Each Resident Tutor was assigned a suite with 8 or 9 ABC boys. The Resident Tutors had been selected from nominations made by the Dartmouth faculty, staff, and student organizations. Selection was made on the basis of interviews with the most outstanding of these candidates.

> "They were selected for their capacity to relate sensitively to teenagers; because they were themselves disciplined, intellectually and in personal behavior; and because they were genuinely concerned about helping disadvantaged youngsters without being overly ambitious about possibilities for human change."
>
> (Dey 1964, pp. 9-10)

During the preceding spring they had undergone intensive preparation for which they were granted the credit of an academic course at Dartmouth College. During the spring preparation they had weekly seminars and discussions, often with guests whose experience was relevant to the job ahead. They read and discussed the problems of the disadvantaged, familiarized themselves with the curriculum, visited preparatory schools and took responsibility for developing most of the non-academic aspects of the summer program.

During the summer program Resident Tutors frequently attended the boys' morning classes depending on their familiarity with subject matter and their confidence in their ability to supplement effectively classroom work through tutoring. They were responsible for supervising study hours and general dormitory regulations, coaching the required athletics, and developing with their students plans for free time and weekend activities. Based on the assessment of the ABC staff of the first summer program, the Director had reported:

> "We agreed that Resident Tutors should continue to be chosen first by their personal qualities and second for specific academic competence. Their 3 major responsibilities should continue to be close daily association with their students, personal tutoring to re-enforce classroom work, and the planning and supervising of special activities and weekend projects. The most difficult part of their job will continue to be getting their students to do things, responsibly, on time; the most challenging, helping students to help themselves; the most rewarding, developing friendship and personal growth."
>
> (Dey 1964, p. 11)

It is appropriate to report that the Resident Tutors performed their various important and demanding roles extremely well. This impression of their fine work comes both from seeing them in action on a daily basis throughout the summer and also from the reports of the ABC students to be presented later in this chapter.

CURRICULUM AND ACTIVITIES

In planning the summer curriculum it was felt that the boys' future academic advancement would best be served by limiting their studies to mathematics and the uses of the English language; holding that later success in other disciplines depended on these fundamental skills. In this respect Project ABC differed from many other summer "enrichment" programs for the disadvantaged. Most of the other summer programs have included more emphasis on cultural activities in the humanities, literature and the arts to intellectually stimulate students and broaden their awareness in the hope that this would benefit their subsequent academic work. While including some outside "cultural" activities and hopefully interesting material in the curriculum, the primary focus of the summer ABC program was on academic "tool" skills in mathematics, English and reading. It was felt that because of poor prior schooling many boys would find the transition to the independent schools difficult and that the educational efforts in the summer program would best be spent in strengthening their competence in basic skills. Hopefully increased awareness and responsiveness to ideas would come with time, but the immediate problem was to help the students be equipped to survive academically in the more demanding educational environments to which they were moving. Therefore, the academic program had a toughness and rigor to it. While receiving much help and encouragement, the students were faced with heavy demands for good academic performance and hard work. For most of the boys, as will be seen, it was the hardest and most demanding academic program they had ever encountered. It was felt that if a boy could respond positively to these challenges and begin to master them, he would be well prepared for the difficult transition ahead.

DAILY SCHEDULE. Classes operated on a 6 days a week basis. Beginning at 8 a.m., a typical student day would have a 50-minute class in mathematics and then in English; a 20 minute milk break followed by classes in reading and English, an hour lunch break; an hour of study or faculty conference; 2 hours of compulsory athletics; an hour free time; an hour for dinner followed by 3 hours of compulsory study time in the dormitory. This routine was only altered for scheduled extra-curricular activities on Wednesdays, Saturday afternoons, and Sundays (though Sunday night was again a study time).

The typical week's work for an ABC student included 9 hours of instruction in mathematics, 9 in English and 6 in reading. Individuals with particular strengths or weaknesses were given adjusted schedules after the first 2 weeks. Those who had no real reading problems were freed from the reading course so that they might devote more time to mathematics and English.

The schedule was very heavy and the students were prone to complain - though most of them eventually acquired a Spartan pride in the rigors of the discipline. Later we will examine their comments and gripes.

ENGLISH PROGRAM. The primary objectives of the English program were to help the students develop skills in composition, in the reading of mature literature, and in class discussion. It was also desired to encourage them to develop efficient study habits and to set high standards of effort and achievement. Each English teacher was responsible for two sections of about 10 students which he met 9 times a week in 50-minute periods. All of a section would meet daily to discuss reading and receive instruction in composition. For the other 3 meetings of the week the sections were divided in half for special "conferences" or workshops on composition. In addition to these regular meetings there were hours in the afternoon available for appointments and discussion with individual students to work on particular problems. The boys were assigned approximately 90 minutes of homework for every English class. This requirement was waived whenever the boys attended a lecture, play, or movie at the request of the teachers.

A basic feature was daily writing by the student and prompt correction and recorrection by the teacher. Because students in private secondary schools must be able to write often and well, the ABC English teachers stressed composition in designing the curriculum. They aimed to help every boy develop his skills to the point that he would be able to write credible quizzes, paragraphs, and themes when he entered school in the fall. Toward this end the boys were taught fundamentals of organization, content, sentence structure, usage, diction and punctuation.

Ideally they wrote every day and were obliged to revise every paper in accordance with corrections made by the teachers. The standards were similar to those at the independent schools, but the teachers' evaluations were on the strengths as well as the weaknesses in the papers. The teachers gave no grades during the summer, but instead wrote brief comments on most of the papers and discussed the quality of a student's writing with him in the individual appointments. Also the teachers meet weekly with the Resident Tutors to discuss the English curriculum and ways of helping the students.

The books for the summer reading were selected after much consideration by the staff. The principal criteria of selecting reading were that the stories would emphasize human courage, the authors well known and significant literary figures. The style of most books was contemporary and lucid. The books were appropriate for study of the fundamentals of literary analysis. Authors included Homer, Stephen Crane, John Steinbeck, William Saroyan, Ernest Hemingway, and Martin Luther King Jr.

During the summer the students attended 3 plays: Richard II, Tartuffe and the Doctors Dilemma. They also saw 4 films: Bridge On The River Kwai, The Old Man And The Sea, The Miracle Worker, and Inherit The Wind. They also wrote papers on and discussed the plays and films. (Detailed discussion of the entire English program is presented in Dey, 1964, pp. 17-33.)

READING PROGRAM. The objectives of the reading program were to assure that all ABC students had opportunity to benefit from a reading program at an appropriate individual level, and in the case of the poorer readers be tested diagnostically and grouped into small classes for more intensive, corrective and remedial instruction. The Diagnostic Reading Test was used for general screening and sectioning. There were 3 sections of poor readers, 6 sections of average readers, and one section of good readers with an average of 8 students in a section.

The first half of the summer program had the objectives of improving vocabulary, study skills, reading comprehension and reading rate. Time was spent on development of skills in outlining, note taking, skimming, phrase reading, and preparing for and taking examinations. After the first half of the summer a third of the boys who had good reading skills were excused from reading classes and were given individual assignments with emphasis on vocabulary improvement. The remaining two-thirds of the boys continued in their regularly scheduled classes which emphasized comprehension in various kinds of reading matter and reading speed. Those students who had particular problems received intensive individual attention and further diagnostic testing that would be helpful for their future placement in independent school. This evaluation was designed to spell out in detail the strengths, weaknesses and recommendations for further instruction. (The reading program is described in Dey 1965, pp. 34-37.)

MATHEMATICS PROGRAM. The students were sectioned into 2 levels of mathematics courses according to their prior preparation and initial test results. One section was called "pre-algebra" and was designed to offer a strong foundation for the introductory course in algebra at preparatory school. The other was a review and extension of a first course in algebra. There were 5 pre-algebra and 2 algebra sections. The courses put a heavy emphasis on "modern" mathematics, as it was felt that many boys had little exposure to these aspects of the field and would be poorly prepared for the independent school mathematics curriculum. Also it was felt that there was need to strengthen their preparation in the basic manipulation of numbers. While it was difficult to make substantial advances in the cases of boys badly handicapped by years of inadequate preparation, it was felt that in most cases there were significant gains in the understanding of mathematical concepts and the capacity to use them. (The mathematics program is discussed in Dey 1965, pp. 38-43.)

EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES. There was daily participation and instruction in sports including soccer, track, softball, volleyball, touch football, and tennis. All students also were given swimming instruction.

Individual suites of students participated in various weekend activities including mountain climbing and hikes, and trips to Montreal and Boston. There was a dance with the ABC girls from the Mount Holyoke program. Students also had opportunity to attend concerts during the summer and visit art galleries and studios. They also had a glee club and presented a play. On Sunday afternoons there was a non-denominational meeting and students were encouraged to attend local churches.

Meals were taken in the college dining hall. Breakfast and lunch were cafeteria-style, but evening meals were more formal with assigned tables for the students and faculty and with invited guests.

STUDENT REACTIONS TO SUMMER PROGRAM

Although the main concern of this evaluation research is the students' adjustment to the private schools, we are also interested in their experiences and reactions in the summer transitional program. The systematic data gathering concerning this aspect came in interviews close to the end of the summer program. Some information gathered from these 80 interviews was presented in the last chapter in the discussion of students' prior backgrounds and plans. However, there were additional questions about their experiences during the summer (Appendix D, Schedule 1, questions 30-37 and 41-42). By this point the writer was familiar to the boys, having met with all of them in some large psychological testing situations. In these meetings the general purpose of the ABC research had been explained to the students. Hopefully it was made clear that the reasons for psychological testing and interviewing were to study how well the program was achieving its aims and not for the assessment and recommendation of individual students. During the summer the writer had regularly eaten dinner with the students, attended many of their activities, and become a familiar figure to most of the boys. At the start of the interview it was emphasized that all information was confidential and would not reflect upon any boy in an individually identifiable way. Also, it was emphasized that judgment of the student's performance and whether he was recommended to go on to independent school was made solely by the ABC teaching staff and that the interviewer played no part in that decision. The boys were asked to give honest reports of what they felt were the good and the bad features of the summer program.

OVERALL STATISTICS. The boys were asked what their initial thoughts and feelings had been during their first few days in the ABC summer program. The boys' overall initial reactions at the beginning of the program were reported as:

29%	Very favorable
33%	Generally favorable
24%	Evenly mixed, favorable and unfavorable
9%	Generally unfavorable
6%	Very unfavorable

The predominant reactions reported were favorable or mixed; with only a few feeling dissatisfied or unhappy. Initial likes and positive reactions that were specifically mentioned were:

39%	College campus and facilities
35%	General excitement, fun, and happiness
23%	Academic routine and study program
15%	Dormitory life and living arrangements
15%	Other students (liked them, found them interesting)
5%	Good interpersonal atmosphere, absence of racial tensions
4%	Location and surrounding countryside
23%	Nothing specific mentioned

The initial dislikes and negative reactions that were specifically mentioned were:

23%	Fear and apprehensiveness; fear of academic or social failure
23%	Strict routine and demanding study program
14%	Homesickness
6%	Location and surrounding countryside
3%	Dislike of behavior and attitudes of other students
1%	Dormitory life and living conditions
51%	Nothing specific mentioned

The boys were asked how they felt about their academic performance and whether they had been satisfied or dissatisfied with how they were doing. These reported feelings concerning their academic performance showed the following distribution:

49%	Generally satisfied
35%	Mixed feelings
15%	Generally dissatisfied

The subjects in which students had experienced difficulties were:

45%	English
21%	Mathematics
14%	Reading
39%	No particular difficulties reported

Almost all students who had experienced difficulties were optimistic. They felt effort would lead to improvement, and only a very few were discouraged by lack of progress.

The boys were asked if the teaching at the summer program differed from that of their former school, and if so what the nature of the differences were. About 30% said there were no great differences, but the other 70% reported that the teaching was better at ABC than they had previously experienced; none said the teaching was poorer. About half reported the pace of the summer program faster than they were used to, while the other half reported no great differences. Half of the students also said they received much more attention from their teachers, while the other half reported no great difference. About 60% of the students said the teachers at home and at ABC were about the same, while 40% said the teachers at ABC were more effective and better teachers than they had previously.

The boys' reports of their relationship with their Resident Tutor was positive in 65% of the cases, mixed or neutral in 28%, and negative or difficult in 8%. In over 80% of the cases the boy's description of the personal characteristics of his Resident Tutor was favorable, and in less than 5% of the cases was it critical of him as an individual or the way he handled his responsibilities.

In over 75% of the cases the students reported they liked and got along well with the other boys in their suite; less than 10% reported that they had had trouble with other boys. Most had positive feelings about the living arrangements and the people in the program. Only about 5% reported difficulties in social adjustment. Almost 70% of the boys mentioned some individuals, staff members or other students, who had been helpful to them during the summer program. Individuals mentioned as particularly helpful by the boys included:

30%	Teachers
28%	Resident Tutors
30%	Other students
11%	Program officials
33%	No one specifically mentioned

Kinds of help mentioned included special instruction and aid with academic difficulties, general encouragement, and friendship and warmth.

The following were cited as their outstanding favorable impressions of the summer program by the indicated percentages of the boys:

51%	People (staff, faculty, and students)
46%	Academic program, amount learned, skills acquired
44%	Mode of living, dormitory life
33%	Athletics and recreational events
8%	Location and environment
10%	Nothing specific mentioned

Their outstanding unfavorable impressions and dislikes of the summer program were:

33%	Lack of free time, demanding schedule
10%	Compulsory athletics and hikes
9%	Difficulty of academic program and strictness
3%	Particular individuals
59%	Nothing specific mentioned

Asked whether they felt they had changed much since the beginning of the summer program, one-third said not much; one-third said perhaps a little; and one-third said yes, a great deal. In the entire group the positive changes reported were:

53%	Gains in academic competence, greater knowledge and better study skills
31%	Increased social awareness, better able to get along with others
24%	Greater self-esteem and self-confidence
15%	Greater maturity, more able to be responsible for oneself
10%	Higher aspiration level
5%	Greater happiness, more cheerful, optimistic, etc.
4%	Greater intellectual awareness and cultural appreciation
26%	No specific positive changes mentioned

With respect to negative changes: 93% reported none, while 7% had become more aware of their own academic limitations, and one boy had come to feel unpopular and apart from his peers.

Regarding possible improvements or changes for the program, almost half said that they wanted more free time and a less heavy and rigid schedule. About a quarter would have liked additional options for recreational activities, and less emphasis on hikes and athletics. Other than these complaints regarding the demanding schedule and the restricted opportunities for free time and choice of leisure activities, most students were highly favorable in their attitudes regarding the summer program.

At that point close to the end of the summer program and a month prior to their entrance to preparatory school the majority of boys were positive and favorable regarding their anticipation of the coming fall. Most emphasized new challenges and opportunities, particularly with respect to extracurricular activities and better schooling. Among the major worries and fears regarding preparatory schools they mentioned:

45%	Fear of academic failure
14%	Fear of social failure, won't fit in, social adjustment worries
14%	Loss of contacts at home (family, friends, girlfriends)
11%	Lack of freedom, strict routine
4%	Dislike of location of school
36%	Nothing specific mentioned

Overall the boys' experiences in and reactions to the ABC summer transitional program appeared very positive. Most liked both the social life and the academic program. However, many also felt it had been a demanding summer and that they had been worked very hard - as, if fact, they had.

REPRESENTATIVE COMMENTS. To indicate typical reactions to the summer program we will present excerpts from interviews with the boys. These statements provide a sampling of various responses regarding their first impressions of the program, subsequent feelings about academic work and progress, attitudes towards staff and other students, personal changes and overall reactions to the summer program. As was evident from the statistics, the majority of their responses were favorable and relatively few boys had severe criticism or dislike of the program - other than the fairly general complaints about the heavy schedule and lack of free time. However, there were a few boys who were more dissatisfied. We will look first at the comments of two of these more disgruntled students before proceeding to look at the more favorable comments which characterized the majority of the students.

The first student whose unfavorable reactions we shall consider was a Negro from New York City. His father, who had been a lawyer, died two years previously. His mother, a college graduate, was a teacher. His two older brothers were high school graduates in blue collar jobs. Family income was listed as $6,800 a year. According to the boy's account there were many aspects of the summer program he had not enjoyed:

> "I thought we were going to have a lot of fun this summer, but I was wrong! This is worse than school in New York City. I didn't like the trips, I don't like to climb, I can't stand it and think it isn't worth it. But I like the dorms and thought the rooms had a nice layout.
>
> "I guess I'm doing pretty good work. I'm learning the technique of doing it and why. The math has been pretty good, the English I have liked and not liked. I am learning how to write but it is work. The reading is okay and sometimes fun. The teachers are different and don't get the students riled up. In my old school there was a lot of hitting and physical punishment: once a day at least somebody got a bamboo stick on the bottom.
>
> "My relationship with my Resident Tutor is sometimes bad, sometimes good. I had a habit of being late and he'd get me for that. He didn't always listen to my side of the story when I was late, but I have been pretty good on punctuality the last few weeks. I don't like to have to go on trips with him because he pushes the kids on the climbs. I don't like the tutors being so strict in study hours. But he does joke around and treat you like a friend...
>
> "Lack of free time has been a bit of a problem. Also I think they should provide bikes for our use. There is a lot of book carrying around to classes and lunch, we wouldn't be late as often with bikes...But all-in-all it has been a good program, I have liked it.

> It has helped, they didn't have to give us these advantages." (Case 024)

Though this boy was recommended at the end of the summer, all his teachers had reservations and his Resident Tutor had very grave reservations. They felt he had "above average" abilities, but described him as "frightfully lazy", "childish and immature", "constantly late", and probably "overindulged at home". His Resident Tutor felt he had shown no inclination to improve and reported he was disparaged and ridiculed by his peers because of his inability to "shape up". As will be seen in later chapters he showed little improvement and eventually had to be expelled from his preparatory school. Some other boys from similar more "middle class" backgrounds also did poorly as will be discussed in later chapters.

Another student whose comments in the interview indicated considerable dissatisfaction with the summer program was a Puerto Rican from New York City. This was the boy, who in the last chapter was presented as not initially wanting to come. Regarding the summer he said:

> "It has been murder! There has been a lot of work that has been good and hard. I felt pretty bad about giving up 8 weeks of my summer, and I am not joyous about going right back to school! In the beginning the math was going too fast and I could not cope with it, but now I can cope with it. I have to try harder in English, but it is improving now. Sometimes there is too much work and it seems unreasonable. It has been much harder here. They don't stay on one thing and if you don't understand it's just too bad! You just have to catch up. If you don't catch up you just fail, but they do try to help you...
>
> "My Resident Tutor and I sometimes disagree and sometimes agree. He is talented and interested in the work and is like kind of a good friend...
>
> "I get along very fine with the boys in the suite and adapted well to it. There have been no problems...
>
> "The thing I'll remember most about this summer is work. It has been the hardest I've ever had. I hate my life being scheduled and planned. I like to take things as they come and do them when I want.
>
> "...I don't like the schedule here and want more free time. They shouldn't tell you what you have to do...We shouldn't have to go camping on weekends if we don't want. They're long hard trips with lousy food that I had to spit out, and I froze in the night when we camped out.
>
> "I'm just looking forward to going home that's all! But I am afraid that I won't make it. If I don't make it I would be afraid to go back to school and face all those people after all that has been done for me."
>
> (Case 001)

This boy received a very mixed recommendation from the faculty and his Resident Tutor at the end of the summer. For the first half of the program he had done very poorly, but during the last month had undergone a great transformation and had begun to work earnestly. At first he had been described as "completely unprepared for work" and "unwilling to push himself". His Resident Tutor wrote:

> "One of the most wonderful things this summer has been his change since mid-term. Prior to that he was not a good student and his motivation was to avoid work and probably preparatory school too. He complained bitterly at the lack of free time and the other restrictions, and was sullen and emotional in his approach to work. At mid-point he was shocked to find that perhaps the decision wouldn't be his, and he changed completely. He willingly gave up his free time to study, really dug in, ceased being a disturbance in the suite and in a short time acted amazingly mature. His teachers noted vast improvement...He will need individual attention and encouragement..." (Case 001)

In later chapters more will be heard concerning his adjustment to preparatory school: though the transition was hard he eventually came through!

In later chapters we will also pay particular attention to the problems, both academic and social, of American Indian boys in the program. For some the adjustment was very difficult. For the present, however, we will look at some of the comments of an American Indian student whose initial response to the summer program was mixed. He came from a reservation on the Great Plains. His parents had recently separated. His father had an 8th grade education and worked as a laborer. His mother had a 9th grade education. The family income was reported as $3,000 and there were 8 younger children in the family. Life was hard for them and the children often were hungry. About his experience in the summer program he said:

> "At the beginning I followed along like everybody else. The buildings here look very large and more decorated...I like the school work and have been doing real good in math. I was not doing too good at the start in English but am getting better. I wasn't used to writing compositions: before we only wrote one every quarter, here it is all the time. It has helped me and I have learned new words. Here the teachers talk more about how to do work and how to approach it. Before we were just given assignments and asking questions was up to you. There is more work to do here and you have to use all the time you have. Before we had more time to play around. The teachers here talk different, their voices are more muffled and they have a different accent. I have to look at their mouths to understand them...
>
> "I have been getting along with my Resident Tutor. He has helped me with things I don't understand. He is too strict on the hours and I would like to have more

> time to myself, but he never talks loud or says mean things...
>
> "The other boys are good to me, but they are always wrestling around and arguing and talking. Now I am starting to join in.
>
> "What I'll probably remember most is all the kinds of different people. There are all kinds of races here. It seems that they're starting to get along with each other. It's good for the Indians to get started. It's good for Indians to begin to get along with others. I used to be shy, but the others started talking and it seems I got used to talking with everybody. Lots of questions are asked and they showed that they wanted to help. The teachers here play with the boys - they never did at home. Here the teachers have a good time and get in with the students. They help with troubles not just studies. It seems I've got more courage since I came here and enjoy more things. Before I just followed everybody else but now I am starting to do things on my own and then trying to help others. I never did much in athletics at home but here the athletics have helped me. I can see I'm about the same as the other boys. Now I can get along with them: they help me and I help them...
>
> "There's a lot of work here and it's a bit heavy, but everybody finds it heavy. There's not much time for relaxing and just playing games. I'd like some time to walk alone." (Case 048)

As has already been indicated the responses of the majority of the boys to the ABC summer program were very positive. A great number of representative statements could be included but instead we will present only two examples to indicate their general character and some of the features that had a marked influence on the boys.

Typical of the many boys with highly favorable attitudes was a Negro student from a medium sized city in the mid-west. His father had some high school education and was employed as a salesman. His mother had attended high school and took care of 5 younger children at home. The family income was reported as $3,600. He reported:

> "At first I was exploring and investigating the place. I felt like I was walking on thin ice that could be shattered. It took about a week to fit in and feel at home. At first I was a little disappointed. But then when I found out I didn't know as much as I thought I did, I was very glad to be here.
>
> "I could be doing a lot better in all my subjects and have been worried a bit about it. The teaching is very similar in approach but a little bit better here and the teachers know what they are talking about.
>
> "I think we have got the best Resident Tutor. He has a good sense of humor and helps us when he can. He has a good personality and is just right for the job...

> "I have liked living in the suite, it's like one big family of boys. The whole dorm and project is a family and most are friendly. There are a couple of boys who have little odd customs or are hard to figure out or get other people in trouble...A lot of people have been important to me this summer, almost all of the faculty and the Director. He has astounded me: I expected a disciplinarian but he is a friendly outgoing person. You have to respect him, he has position but he puts you at ease. I never met anybody like him, his integrity and honesty, he's not two-faced and he's your friend all the way. The whole summer has been a lot of fun. There has just not been enough time to do all I want to do. I like the trips and change of pace.
>
> "I've tried to pick up a lot and have absorbed a lot. The atmosphere is different: it's clean and wholesome. There are a lot of characteristics you pick up from people. I found out I didn't know quite as much as I thought I did. My rate of learning was speeded up. I give another try now, I can push myself harder and begin to reach my capabilities. I have a lot more drive and I have learned better study habits. There's something to push for here.
>
> "I wish we had more dances and I wish we had more time, longer than 8 weeks to get everything in. The sports should be optional not compulsory because sometimes you want to study but the study hours are gone. I think we should have some kind of representative student government to discuss problems and go between the faculty and the suites. But the program is really pretty well organized." (Case 010)

Another Negro student from a large mid-western city expressed favorable attitudes. His parents both had had some high school education and his father worked in a factory. He had a younger sister and the family income was reported as $5,400. He said:

> "The beginning of the summer was some of the hardest days I ever spent and I worried if the rest of the summer would be like this. The English was rough and needed lots of work and I was stuck for awhile. Things are now easier and I am very satisfied with the way they are going. I am really enjoying the English. Here the teachers give as much time as you need. They will go all out for you and are willing to help.. Even though the classes are longer they seem shorter, I could go for a couple of more hours. I really enjoy it and it's a lot of fun. I never had teachers like these before. I am very satisfied with all of them and hope that in prep school I have teachers as nice...
>
> "I get along okay with my Resident Tutor. We have our moments, not really trouble, and generally it's real good. He's the kind of a person who's a good influence on me. Even though I don't always understand

> he will sit down and talk with me. He makes a world of sense. He has been a major factor in helping me do a pretty good job here. I don't think I could have made it without a tutor. He kept me from being discouraged and kept me going. We talked about things and difficulties...I like the suite a lot and get along with everybody. We have lots of fun together. They're likable fellows and we have good times on the weekend trips and joke around...What I'll remember most is doing so much work in such a limited amount of time; and all the nice people who tried to help, both teachers and other students...
>
> "Actually I think I've changed a lot. I feel I am more on my own and more mature. I can look at things in a more adult manner and am less boyish. I have learned to think things out and avoid careless mistakes. I feel different toward education. I had always enjoyed school but I didn't think about the future and college. Now I see the value of education. I see the Resident Tutors and teachers and want to follow in their footsteps. I have a completely new outlook on education.
>
> "I have been very satisfied with the program and really enjoyed it. It went smoothly. I griped some at the weekend trips because there was not enough rest, but I did like them. I have been very pleased and really enjoyed it." (Case 007)

Most students expressed positive attitudes toward the program. The great majority said they had worked hard and their academic skills and sense of responsibility had increased. They reported they respected their teachers and found them helpful. Though some had occasional tension or problems with their Resident Tutors, the overwhelming majority found them sympathetic and helpful. Many said they would not have done as well without the aid and encouragement of the Tutors. Many boys expressed respect and admiration for particular individuals in the program and in a number of cases said they were admirable models that they would like to emulate. Despite occasional chaffing at the heavy schedule and rigorous program, most of the students felt they had benefited. One had the impression that most felt they had been tested and not found wanting. There was a common sense of camaraderie and high morale. Out of the summer's trials they had forged a sense of group identity and common purpose. It seemed clear that most boys were aware of the strong dedication of the staff and were influenced by it.

While this evaluation of Project ABC calls for sober objectivity and a questionning attitude that is suspicious of mere enthusiasm and aware of shortcomings, it also should recognize and report strengths and accomplishments. Observing this program over a period of years, one is impressed by the unusual quality and spirit of both the staff and the students. Throughout there has been a strong commitment to difficult but attainable and worthwhile goals. The work has been hard and demanding for all concerned, but the process and the results have been rewarding and have maintained a unusually high level of staff commitment that has been recognized and responded to by the students.

EVALUATION AND RECOMMENDATION OF STUDENTS AT END OF SUMMER

At the end of the summer all teachers and Resident Tutors wrote detailed reports on the performance of each ABC student for whom they had responsibility. These evaluations considered the student's potential academic capacities with particular emphasis on individual strengths and weaknesses, his general academic performance, his study habits and discipline, and his general social adjustment and personality characteristics. At the final faculty meetings of the summer all the reports were considered at length and there was prolonged discussion, particularly of the students who had had special difficulties. It should be mentioned that these long meetings were preceded by many earlier meetings throughout the summer where both problems of particular students and general concerns of the program had been discussed. The overall concern of the recommendations was whether or not the boy was prepared to enter independent school in the fall. Students were either "Recommended", "Recommended With Reservations", "Recommended With Grave Reservations", or "Not Recommended". Because of the very full nature of the faculty reports it was also possible to differentiate the levels of performance of students in the "Recommended" group for this research.

For the Dartmouth ABC '65 group the following was the distribution of the final faculty evaluations and recommendations at the end of the 8-week summer program:

FINAL EVALUATION AND RECOMMENDATIONS - SUMMER PROGRAM

%	N	Recommendations
7	6	(7) Recommended - outstanding
7	6	(6) Recommended - very good
23	19	(5) Recommended - fairly good
17	14	(4) Recommended - fair
28	23	(3) Recommended - some reservations
9	7	(2) Recommended - grave reservations
9	7	(1) Not recommended
100	82	

Of the 7 boys not recommended, 5 had continued to the end of the program while 2 had left before the end of the program. One had left because he was unhappy and wished to go home, and the other was sent home because he was a disciplinary problem and not working. (Chapter 9 presents a fuller accounting of the reasons students left the program.)

In deciding whether or not to recommend a boy to preparatory school the ABC faculty attempted to judge both his prospect for academic survival at the school and if his attitude and effort indicated he merited the opportunity. The aim was to judge the boy with respect to the standards and demands he would encounter in independent school and to estimate his probable level of work and capacity to cope with all aspects of the transition. As was seen in the above table, about half the boys were recommended without serious reservation, while about the other half there were varying degrees of concern. Those "Not Recommended" were cases in which there clearly were serious reasons in the opinion of all informed members of the faculty and staff for the unsuitability of the boy to enter independent school in the fall. Those "Recommended with Grave Reservations" were individuals for whom a number of staff members had serious questions regarding ability or motivation, but it was felt there was sufficient ability or enough indication of improvement so that academic survival in independent school was possible and it was felt the boy should have the chance to prove himself. These decisions were not lightly made and there were serious and prolonged discussions of the difficult cases.

Beside the "official" overall evaluation of the students' performance made at the end of the summer, ratings based on these final reports were also made of the students' probable academic potential and apparent academic motivation. These ratings indicated that only about 10% of the boys were seen as having very low academic potential, but that about 20% were seen as having low academic motivation. They also indicated a wide range in both academic potential and motivation. Usually very low abilities were the grounds for not recommending a student. Whereas in the case of low motivation it appeared more difficult to assess how the boy might eventually perform, and consequently more of these boys were given benefit of the doubt and were recommended, though with reservations, to go on to school in the fall. The next chapter will present the evidence as to how the boys actually did in their academic work during their first two years at the schools.

SUMMARY

This chapter has summarized the major features of the ABC summer transitional program. The emphasis of the academic curriculum was on strengthening the students' basic skills in English, Reading and Mathematics through concentrated and intensive work. The classes were small and met often. There was considerable individual attention with careful monitoring of the students' work and special help for their particular academic problems. The extracurricular aspects of the program were designed to accustom the students to typical features of boarding school schedules and activities.

According to student reports, they found the program rigorous and demanding. Most said that the academic work was harder and the teaching better than they had previously experienced. Attitudes were generally favorable to most important features of the summer program, but many complained about the demanding schedule, lack of free time, and compulsory "recreational" activities. Generally the students were well satisfied with the program and had high morale.

It would be appropriate to say that given the limitiations of a short 8-week period, the faculty and staff were generally satisfied with the program's accomplishments and the general level of students' achievements and progress. At the end of the summer 9% of the boys were "Not Recommended", 37% were "Recommended with Reservations", and 54% were "Recommended" to enter the independent schools.

The chapters to follow will discuss how the students fared in their new schools.

CHAPTER 5

ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE

One of the main questions in evaluating an educational program like Project ABC is its effect on the academic work of the students affected. Is the program successfully achieving its goals of raising the academic performance levels of the students? Are their basic skills and abilities strengthened? Do they master new subjects and use them meaningfully? Are they more active and involved in the pursuit of understanding? These and similar questions are critical concerns in assessing any educational program. Those familiar with educational research are also aware that they are far more difficult to answer with certainty than would first appear.

There are many reasons for the difficulty in carrying out satisfactory educational research. All cannot be discussed here, but it may be useful to indicate briefly some of the kinds of problems. Perhaps most important, though least discussed, is the reluctance of most educational establishments to look objectively at the process and product. Educators like other human beings, are partisan creatures who believe in what they do and are usually most comfortable when their basic beliefs and methods of proceeding are not questioned or examined and evaluated. In the author's opinion some educational undertakings labeled "research" might more appropriately be regarded as "public relations". In such "research", the aware researcher senses that the basic motivation and the imperative is "tell us how good we are!" Naturally everyone does want to look good and have their friends and their principles vindicated and shining, but in fairness and objectivity one has to recognize and admit failures as well as successes. Therefore we feel obliged to indicate and represent all of the varying degrees of success and failure in the ABC program.

Beyond the fundamental problem of detached neutrality and objectivity are the more methodological problems of educational research. These are varied and are often not satisfactorily met because of their inherent difficulties. Among the kinds of problems are: those of selecting appropriate parameters and measures for assessing academic gains and accomplishments; disentangling what is due to the particular educational program and what is due to the selection of the students; and perhaps most difficult of all is conceptualizing and assessing the ongoing process in its richness and complexity. Most educational research can be faulted on these and other grounds. The present study unfortunately can claim no special merits in these respects and is subject to criticism for such failings and others. We will make very little or no substantial contribution to some of the most interesting and significant questions such as: what really makes the difference between academic success and failure in this program? what in detail are the kinds of educational techniques and influences that account for particular gains? and many similar questions. These kinds of difficult questions have to come out of more complex and specifically situation-oriented research designs than the overall survey and assessment of program success and failure attempted here.

The kinds of questions that are being asked and hopefully answered here involve broad evaluation of the general results of the total ABC program. The questions raised in this chapter are directed toward assessment of the general academic performance of the ABC students in terms of relative degrees of success and failure; consideration of the kinds of academic records they have made in preparatory schools; and the kinds of academic gains and changes according to the reports of the teachers, the students themselves and standardized educational tests. In these broad terms we hope to answer honestly the question of how well the program has succeeded in its academic aims and to present a fair account of the ratio of its failures and successes.

This chapter will first give a general account of the overall academic performance of the ABC students and explain the basis of certain "measures" of academic performance used in our data analysis. Then, there will be a first-hand account of the program's academic aspects as reported by the staff and teachers at the independent schools and by the boys themselves. Finally, there will be examination of the two-year changes on intelligence and achievement tests for ABC boys and a matched control group. Taken together these data will provide some basis for assessing how well Project ABC has been achieving its academic goals.

TWO-YEAR ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE: OVERALL RATES AND DEVELOPMENT OF CRITERION RATINGS

Our first concern is to examine the general academic record made by this group of ABC students during their first two years in the program, and differentiate various aspects of that record. Next we will present how the information regarding academic performance was used to develop "measures" for subsequent data analysis, and present the major criterion variables that were used in the research.

The measures to be presented in this chapter will be "Criterion Ratings" of 1) Overall Academic Performance, 2) Academic Potential, and 3) Academic Motivation. (In the next chapter a fourth "Criterion Rating" of Social Adjustment will be presented.) Beside the three academic criterion ratings to be presented in this chapter we will also present the basis for development of a designation of Criterion Classification Groups on the basis of the kinds of changes occurring in academic performance during the two years.

STATUS AT TWO-YEAR FOLLOW-UP. It will be recalled that there were 82 boys who entered the summer ABC program at Dartmouth in the class we selected for study. Of this entire group of 82 boys at the time of the two-year follow-up study their classification was as follows:

STATUS AT TWO-YEAR FOLLOW-UP

%	N	Status
2	2	Left during first summer

6	5	Not recommended to go on to independent school at end of first summer
1	1	Recommended to attend independent school but chose not to attend
10	8	Attended independent school but dropped out (or about to be dropped)
79	65	Continuing in independent school
1	1	Graduated from independent school and attending college

Thus at the time of the two-year follow-up study: 16 students had left or dropped out of the program and 66 students had continued or completed the program. Therefore, the overall percentages are: 20% of the students were "drop-outs" for one reason or another and 80% had continued in the program, of which the overwhelming majority was still attending independent schools. The circumstances and reasons for students "dropping out" or being "dropped" from the program will be discussed in detail in a later chapter. Academic difficulties were the predominant reason for students leaving the program, but cases where other personal and social adjustment factors played a part will be discussed in later chapters. Overall then, the statistics at the end of two years indicate four-fifths of the students remained, while one-fifth had dropped out of the program.

From the above figures, it will be seen that 8 students (10%) only attended the summer program while 74 students (90%) attended independent school for one year or more. For the 10% who only attended the first summer our judgments of their performance will be based predominantly on their record during the first summer (though we have additional material from their subsequent performance in their home schools for a large number of them.) For the 90% of the boys who did attend independent schools we have detailed information and reports of their performance there.

The information regarding the academic work of the students who attended preparatory school comes from very detailed interviews with independent school staff members regarding the work of each student. These interviews were all carried out by the writer at the 39 different schools attended by the boys. The interviews took a minimum of an hour and usually were considerably longer. The staff members from whom the information was obtained included the individuals at the independent schools who were best acquainted with each boy's record, both in its academic and broader aspects. Those interviewed included headmasters, academic and admissions deans, house masters, faculty advisors, and classroom teachers. Usually a number of individuals were interviewed at each school regarding a particular boy and a composite picture of the boy's record was obtained. In all cases the informants knew the student well and had transcripts of full academic records and all available material in the students' folders kept by the administrative offices of the independent school. In passing, it should be noted that excellent cooperation was obtained from the staffs of all the 39 independent schools and that the writer because of the unusual helpfulness and candor encountered left each of the schools feeling he had been able to obtain a very full and accurate picture of the students' performance there. The questions asked of the independent school staffs are presented in Appendix D, Schedule 2.

OVERALL ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE RATING. On the basis of these interviews, with particular attention to the transcript of grades and with the consensus and agreement of the school staff members, a rating was made of each student's two-year academic record. This rating is designated "Criterion Rating 1: OVERALL ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE". For the 10% of the boys who never attended independent schools it is based just on their first summer's performance, but for the other 90% of the boys it is based on their two-year record at the independent schools. The distribution was as follows:

OVERALL ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE — TWO-YEAR RECORD
"Criterion Rating 1"

%	N	Rating
12	10	(7) Outstanding, excellent, A
7	6	(6) Very good, B or B+
18	15	(5) Fairly good, above average, C+ or B-
16	13	(4) Average, fair, C
20	16	(3) Below average, D+ or C-
7	6	(2) Near failing, barely pass, D or D-
20	16	(1) Failing or Academic Drop-out, E
100	82	

The judgment was made in terms of "customary school standards by the criteria on which you judge all the boys' performance" (Appendix D, Interview Schedule 2, question 2) and was to cover the students' general record in all subjects.

It will be seen that in terms of the standard of the preparatory schools the academic performance of the ABC boys ranged from outright failure to outstanding success: 20% of the boys were reported to have failing records and 7% near failing, while 54% were in the "average" range and 19% were very good or outstanding. In view of this distribution, therefore, one could not make any very simple overall statement of how the boys' general academic records have been, other than to say that there was a considerable range (shortly we will see how the academic changes that occurred can be categorized).

This criterion rating of overall academic performance will be used a great deal in data analyses of correlates of academic success and failure to be reported in later chapters. In most of these correlational analyses the 7-point ratings will be used as the criterion of overall academic performance. In certain of the analyses when contingency tables are employed, the seven rating categories will be reduced to three groups for the presentation of tables and tests for association. In such cases, ratings 1 and 2, will be combined and designated "LOW"; ratings 3,4, and 5, will be combined as "AVERAGE"; and ratings 6 and 7 will be combined as "HIGH". This combining of categories will be done only when contingency tables are used; otherwise for correlational analysis the 7-point scale is employed.

ACADEMIC POTENTIAL RATING. It was recognized that overall academic performance is a complex resultant of many different factors. It was felt that it was appropriate to attempt to distinguish two aspects of the overall academic performance:namely academic potential and academic motivation. The rating of ACADEMIC POTENTIAL is designated "Criterion Rating 2". It is an attempt to judge these students' academic potential and capacities relative to other students at the independent school. (Appendix D, Schedule 2, question 6) How much "basic" (i.e. developed) intelligence, aptitude, and talent does the boy appear to have relative to other students at his school? Obviously this never can be judged or rated "pure"; but some students do appear to function "below" their potential academic capacities and others are regarded as functioning at "better" than expected on the basis of their inferred capacity. The distribution of these ratings was as follows:

ACADEMIC POTENTIAL — TWO-YEAR RECORD — "Criterion Rating 2"

%	N	Rating
11	9	(7) Excellent, outstanding potential (A)
11	9	(6) Very good potential (B or B+)
18	15	(5) Above average, fairly good potential (C+ or B-)
23	19	(4) Average, fair potential (C)
13	11	(3) Low average potential (D+ or C-)
16	13	(2) Low potential (D or D-)
7	6	(1) Extremely low potential (E)
100	82	

It will be seen that again we have a large range in the group of ABC students. A few boys are seen as having extremely low potential and a few boys as having outstanding potential, while the majority are in intermediate positions. As an entire group the ABC students were seen as not being hopelessly outclassed by the other students in the independent schools, and most of them were regarded as having sufficient ability to handle the academic work.

This criterion rating of academic potential will be used in a large number of correlational analyses in later chapters.

ACADEMIC MOTIVATION RATING. The independent school staff members were also asked to rate each ABC boy's academic motivation compared to other students at the school in terms of how much directed effort and organized work he generally showed in his school subjects. (Appendix D, Schedule 2, question 12) This was designated "Criterion Rating 3: ACADEMIC MOTIVATION". Its distribution was as follows:

ACADEMIC MOTIVATION — TWO-YEAR RECORD — "Criterion Rating 3"

%	N	Rating
9	7	(7) Outstanding: excellent motivation, unusual effort and dedication
23	19	(6) Very high: very good motivation, considerable diligence
22	18	(5) Above average: fairly good motivation, pretty diligent
12	10	(4) Average: fair motivation, average drive
11	9	(3) Low average: mildly motivated, occasional deficiencies in effort
5	4	(2) Low: rather deficient motivation generally slight and uneven efforts

18	15	(1) Extremely low: unmotivated, or with only very low and sporadic efforts
100	82	

Here we do see a less even spread for the ABC students. A large number (23%) was seen as having low or extremely low motivation. But the majority of the students (well over half) were seen as having above average, very high, or outstanding motivation. Thus it appears that according to these two-year follow-up reports we find something of a bimodal distribution with a considerable number of poorly motivated subjects and a larger number of highly motivated subjects. These ratings will also be used in later correlational analyses.

CLASSIFICATION OF ACADEMIC TRENDS. In the process of reviewing and coding the information obtained from the interviews with independent school staff members and from interviews with the boys themselves, it became clear that, while important, the three ratings of overall academic performance, academic potential, and academic motivation did not suffice to represent the records of the students. A particular concern of our research was academic change. It was necessary to have some assessment of the extent and direction of academic changes occurring among this group of boys. The staff interviews (which will be presented in considerable detail shortly) gave a full account of cases in which considerable changes and academic gains had been taking place and other cases where no gains or even some decline had occurred. The interviews with the boys regarding their academic work (also to be presented in this chapter) corroborated these various changes. Therefore, on the basis of a full and careful consideration of the testimony of both staff and students a classification or typology of change was arrived at. This was done by the writer after careful analysis of all the interview material regarding academic work, but without any reference to or knowledge of the test-retest data for individual boys on the educational tests and psychological inventories to be presented later. A small group of major patterns of academic change (or lack thereof) could be discerned among the ABC students, and without much difficulty in the great majority of cases the students could be assigned to an appropriate category. Five major groups were discerned in this inductive analysis. They were designated as follows: The "POOR" group showed consistently unsatisfactory work. It included all students who dropped out of the program for academic reasons and those students still in independent schools whose academic work had been very poor throughout for varying combinations of limited abilities and/or lack of motivation. The "DECLINE" group included these students of adequate or good ability whose academic work and motivation definitely appeared from both faculty and their own account to have deteriorated during the two years. As will be seen, the reasons included "sophomore slump", dislike of the atmosphere of the schools and teaching, and various personal problems. The "SO-SO" or "MEDIOCRE" group included students of low average or undistinguished level whose work had shown neither marked decline nor marked improvement. The "GAINS" group included those students who started off at a relatively low level but who had shown consistent effort and definite gains during the two years according to the reports. This group represented genuine improvement in the type of risk candidates that ABC was expressly designed to help. The "GOOD" group included students whose work from the start had been consistently well above average. This group would represent the more typical kind of scholarship student and did not appear to be particularly "risk" candidates at least academically, even though they may come from disadvantaged backgrounds.

Looking at the relative percentages of students in these five groups gives us probably a more accurate picture of how Project ABC has been faring. The distribution was as follows:

CLASSIFICATION OF ACADEMIC TRENDS — TWO-YEAR RECORD
"Criterion Classification Groups"

%	N	Group
26	21	"POOR", consistent low level academic performance
11	9	"DECLINE", definite fall in academic performance
9	7	"SO-SO", or "MEDIOCRE", no great changes in low average academic performance
30	25	"GAINS", definite improvement in academic performance
24	20	"GOOD", consistent high level academic performance
100	82	

Examination of this table suggests those involved with Project ABC can have some modest satisfaction with respect to its achievements but cannot be wildly self-congratulatory. There were definite failures, about 25% of the students were consistently poor and showed little improvement. Another 10% showed continuing mediocre performance. Another 10% showed a serious and definite fall in academic performance. About 25% were good to begin with and remained good, improving at their already high levels; these are boys who merit the support of a scholarship program and they have used it well. Only about 30% of the boys showed distinct and considerable academic gains. This group is naturally the one the program is proudest of and particularly the type of boy who received most discussion in the formative plans of Project ABC. These "risk" candidates who succeed in overcoming the obstacles of previously inadequate schooling are a minority in terms of total number, but an important minority, and probably can be considered sufficient justification for this type of program. According to our reports this type of boy is definitely in the program and is being benefited by it. To see the bases for the designation for these groups we will next turn to the analysis of the interviews on which these ratings were based. But before doing so, we should note that these five groups will be featured in data analysis to be reported in this and later chapters.

INDEPENDENT SCHOOL FACULTY REPORTS CONCERNING ACADEMIC WORK

As has already been indicated, full reports were obtained on all 74 boys (90% of the original group) who attended independent schools. This group of 74 boys included 66 who continued successfully in the independent schools and 8 boys who had dropped out or were about to be dropped (one boy in the latter category). The staff reports we now are about to examine, therefore, are based on the records of all the boys who entered preparatory schools.

OVERALL STATISTICS. As will be seen in Appendix D, Interview Schedule 2, the first question asked of the independent school staff members concerned the school's overall satisfaction with the student's academic performance. This question regarding school's satisfaction with student's academic work showed the following distribution of responses:

14% Displeased, lacks motivation
10% Displeased, lacks necessary abilities
12% Mixed feelings
37% Rather pleased, a hard worker, doing well
28% Very pleased, good academic performance and/or substantial gains

It is clear that in the majority of cases the school authorities were quite satisfied with the boys' academic record; however, in about a quarter of the cases there were distinct problems. We have already seen what the overall academic ratings of the students work was.

The school staff informants were asked whether the ABC boy had been placed with his contemporaries in age and grade standing or whether it had been necessary to give him any lower level placements or markedly easier loads. In 77% of the cases the students were given no lower placements while the other 23% received lower placements (12% in a few subjects and 11% in all subjects, i.e. had to repeat a year). The lower level placements seemed to be about evenly distributed among the various academic subjects and showed no particular concentration in one area or another.

The staff was asked whether the boy had failed or nearly failed any subjects and which ones: 39% of the students had failed some subjects and 49% had some near failures. A total of 55% had received some failing or near failing grades, while 45% had received no low grades. The subjects giving the most trouble were: foreign languages (19% of the students had a failure and 14% a near failure), mathematics (16% and 20% respectively), science (12% and 16%), and English (8% and 15%). History, the social sciences, and the humanities showed few failures. The number of courses failed or nearly failed by the boys were as follows: none by 45% of the boys, just one course by 18%; two courses by 11%; three courses by 14%; and more than three courses by 12%. Thus it will be seen that some ABC students had many failing or near failing grades. However, it should also be reported that 61% of the boys had no failures and 45% had no failures or near failures. Therefore, about half of the students had no serious academic troubles gradewise during their two years in independent schools.

The reasons given for the failures or near failures reported were attributed to: lack of motivation in the subject (24% of the boys); lack of a strong background (20% of the boys); lack of ability (10% of the boys).

The staff was also asked regarding the subjects in which the student was outstanding and receiving strong and consistent honor grades. For the entire group of boys, the percentages having outstanding subjects was as follows: 50% none; 35% one or two; 5% many; 10% all or almost all. As a group the ABC students were doing their best work in: mathematics (32% with honor grades), foreigh languages (23% with honor grades) English (16%), science (12%), and social sciences (10%). Only 5% had received honor grades in the humanities.

Earlier in this chapter we have seen how the school staff members rated the boys' academic abilities and potential relative to other students at the preparatory school. It will be recalled that there was a wide range of abilities. A question was asked regarding the boy's academic progress relative to his abilities, the distribution of the total group of ABC boys was:

15%	Very poor
12%	Somewhat disappointing
22%	Average
28%	Above average
23%	Excellent

Thus the progress of about one quarter of the boys was disappointing, but the other three quarters of the group was making average or better than average progress.

The staff members were asked whether the boys' work during the past two years had improved, gotten worse, or remained about the same. The distribution for the entire group on changes in academic work was:

7%	Deteriorated greatly
12%	Deteriorated somewhat
8%	Remained the same, always poor
20%	Remained the same, always good
43%	Improved
10%	Improved greatly

Thus the majority of the boys was seen as having been making good academic gains. However, a small group of between 20%-30% were seen as doing poorly and even declining in academic performance. Needless to say, we will be concerned both with the majority who improved and the small but important group whose work deteriorated. Shortly we will look at some representative individual cases to try to discover the kinds of patterns and hopefully some of the reasons for such gains and declines, but first we will look at more of the overall group statistics.

The school staff members, where applicable, were asked what appeared to be the reasons for a student's lack of improvement. For the entire group the main reason cited for lack of improvement showed the following distribution:

70%	Not applicable (same or improved)
12%	Lack of motivation, doesn't try
11%	Poor study habits, no organization or self-discipline
5%	Lack of basic abilities and skills
1%	Personal problems and adjustment difficulties at school

Of course in some cases there was a combination of factors, but the above table indicates the main reason cited by the respondant.

Questions were asked regarding the student's classroom performance and participation and teacher's evaluation of it. In this regard 70% of the students were seen as reasonably or very industrious, as hard workers who were responsible and trying most of the time. Only small minorities were seen as irresponsible and undependable (14%) or as consistently apathetic (12%). With respect to class participation about 35% were inactive, 15% average, and 50% active. Quality of homework and preparation for class showed the following distribution for the group:

11% Very poor preparation, consistent apathy
15% Deficient preparation, often erratic work
19% Mixed preparation, uneven efforts
26% Consistently average or better preparation
30% Excellent preparation, well organized, consistent effort

The boy's studying time relative to other students at the school was estimated to be below average in about 20%, average in about 30%, and above average in about 50% of the cases.

The school staff was asked whether there had been any changes in study and work habits during the last two years. The responses concerning changes in study and work habits showed the following distribution for the boys:

4% Yes, getting much worse
10% Yes, some "slacking off" (too much social life, etc.)
15% No, always a poor worker, has continued at an unsatisfactory level
38% No, always a good worker, has continued at a satisfactory or better level
22% Yes, a slight improvement
12% Yes, significantly improved (studies more, organizes better, etc.)

On the basis of these responses it would appear that about half of the students have not changed particularly in their work habits and have remained at about the same level, either unsatisfactory or satisfactory. About 15% are seen as becoming poorer in their study and work habits and about 35% are seen as improved. Thus it appears that some gains are being made, but that few miracles are reported. In a small number of the cases the performance has shown a very serious decline.

Questions were asked regarding whether the boy had any special educational problems or difficulties. In 54% of the cases it was reported that there had been some. They were classified as: deficient language skills, i.e. poor vocabulary, poor writing, etc. (28% of the boys); poor study habits, lack of discipline and organization (27%); deficiencies in mathematics and sciences (18%); lack of general abilities, low intelligence, poor at abstraction (10%); and limited cultural background (5%).

It was also asked whether the boy possessed any special talents or capacities. For 35% of the boys some were mentioned. Those mentioned included: unusual direction, drive, or maturity (16%); special interest and talent in mathematics or science (15%); verbal facility, talents in languages or writing (14%); musical or artistic talents (5%); and capacity for leadership and influence among peers (3%).

It was also asked as to whether there were particular rewards or satisfactions in working with the boy. Those cited were: very responsible and earnest (57%); cooperates and seeks help (38%); enthusiastic and outgoing (24%); and unusual maturity (5%).

The independent school staff members were asked if in their opinion attendance at the school had been a worthwhile educational experience for the boy. The distribution of responses was:

3%	Don't know or unable to judge
11%	No, definitely not a good experience for him
5%	No, probably not a rewarding experience for him
18%	Mixed, good and bad aspects
14%	Yes, appears a rewarding experience
50%	Definitely yes, a very rewarding experience

The staff members were also asked in their opinion on the basis of the boy's abilities and academic performance thus far whether he could and should be recommended to college, and the most appropriate level of institution. These levels of appropriate college recommendation showed the following distribution for the entire group of boys:

1%	Don't yet know, uncertain
11%	Definitely no
12%	Possibly, a very undemanding college
37%	An average institution but not too competitive
22%	A good college, fairly competitive and demanding
18%	An outstanding college, highly competitive and demanding

In about 10% of the cases it was felt that the student could not honestly be recommended to college and it was felt that he would be likely to fail in even an undemanding institution. However, it will be seen that for about 80% of the boys recommendation to college was appropriate and that they would be able to perform satisfactorily or better there. Later in this chapter, we will see to what colleges these students have been admitted three years after their entrance to the program.

Having examined the overall distributions of responses to the various questions regarding academic work, it is appropriate to attempt to briefly summarize the conclusions coming from these staff reports. By-and-large, taken as a group, the ABC students have had a reasonably credible record. Of the entire group of boys there was 10% attrition during the initial summer program and a further 10% attrition while attending the independent schools. The other 80% of the boys have continued in the program. Of the entire group of boys, 60% have had average academic records and about 20% have had very good or outstanding records. The academic work of about 50% of the boys is regarded as having shown some or great improvement; another 20% are regarded as having consistently remained good; while 10% are seen as having remained poor and 20% as having shown some or great deterioration. It thus is a mixed picture that we report: a small but significant group of students having remained consistently poor or getting worse; a substantial number showing definite academic improvements and gains and in some cases very considerable gains.

REPRESENTATIVE COMMENTS. Human reality tends to be obscured by statistics; therefore we need to give some sense of the actual failures and triumphs. To do so we will look at some representative cases as reported by the concerned faculty members at the independent schools. The representative cases will be selected according to the classification of academic trends that was presented earlier in the chapter - i.e. the classification of the boys into "POOR", "DECLINE", "SO-SO", "GAINS", and "GOOD" groups.

It will be recalled that 26% of the ABC students were classified in the "POOR" group that had showed consistently unsatisfactory work. It was noted that within this group were varying combinations of limited academic abilities and/or lack of motivation. We will look at the comments on two boys: the first with low ability, the second with low motivation. There were, of course, additional cases where both factors contributed.

The first boy to be considered in the "POOR" group is one with limited abilities. He is a White boy from a border area of the south whose home life had been extremely difficult with constant family quarrels, beatings, and alcoholism. What little stability there had been in his life appeared to be provided by a grandparent. During the initial summer at Project ABC all of his teachers and the resident tutor recognized his insecurity, defensiveness, slowness, and lack of ability. Throughout most of the summer program his work was rather poor, but during the last few weeks all his teachers felt that he had made considerable improvement and that he deserved a chance. He was, therefore, "recommended, with some reservations" and the letter of recommendation while realistically indicating his difficulties did have the optimistic comment "we believe very deeply in this boy's promise and regard him as an ABC 'triumph', probably no one came to the program with more strikes against him and certainly no one has emerged from the program more reenforcing our hope and belief that human beings can really change." As we will see, other boys have been able to make the difficult transition and come from way behind but for this boy at present it would appear to be too much of a challenge. After two years at the independent school, his dean and his advisor made the following report:

> "We are very concerned about his work. He works, but it is a very poor performance because of low abilities. His overall average is nearly failing, about D-. He is at least two years below his grade level. He is 18 and still a sophomore. ...He failed Spanish and dropped it last year and has had near failing grades in history, science, math, and English. He has no outstanding subjects...He works, but it is hard. He is standing about even: he's working hard, but his abilities are so low...He talks in class but is not respected too much by the other boys and seems to be regarded as being a little out of it...He tries, but at times he gets discouraged. He learns, he works, and he tries but it is not too great. He tries to be thorough but tends to be slightly erratic. He probably works considerably more than the average student, perhaps about five hours of study a day but he is taxed with the routine...There have been no marked improvements. He plugs but it continues to be hard...His

problem is a lack of basic abilities and talents.

> "We doubt this has been a worthwhile educational experience for him. He seems so frustrated week-in and week-out. He really seems to be above his head. He's getting all he can, but it is minimal, there's little reward...It's very doubtful that he is college material because of his low abilities. We honestly cannot see him getting any scholarship assistance...This kind of boy is in a very painful situation. it is cruel; he tries but gets discouraged and resentful...He isn't achieving and there is more pain than pleasure. The big problem has been academics. He does get depressed over marks and wants to know why he is not doing better. He mopes and kicks the wall...
>
> "Project ABC has been bad in the sense that it has put him under a lot of stress, but perhaps good in that he is in a more stable environment. Probably he is just too low a level of boy to take into the program. It is just asking too much of him." (Case 073)

It should be noted here that the boy himself reported that the adjustment had been hard and that he had not been working up to the standards of the school and he was concerned about his future. He did, however, feel less nervous and tense around people and that the program had probably been a good thing for him. It was the writer's impression that despite the great academic problems he was having, the boy had developed some and seemed more at ease and more self-confident and alert than he had two years earlier. A few other boys were in as difficult an academic situation, but most boys of extremely limited abilities were screened out during the initial summer. It seems inadvisable to have students of limited abilities subjected to such educational pressures, but at the same time it is admittedly difficult in particular cases to decide where the "cut off" level should be. Certainly there were boys who started poor and did improve.

We will now consider another boy from the "POOR" group whose difficulties clearly were in the area of motivation and self-discipline. This is a very bright Negro boy from a large metropolitan area. The educational level of this boy's parents was higher than for most of the students in the program, but his father had died a few years earlier and his mother was having a difficult time economically. During the first summer he was seen as having strong academic ability, but there were "serious reservations" about his sporadic effort and lack of self-discipline. It was only after long and heated debate at the final faculty meeting of the Dartmouth ABC summer program that he was recommended. Most of the summer faculty felt he was clearly of above average ability but "frightfully lazy , "childish and immature", and a "frustrating" student. However, it was felt that when and if he outgrew his immaturity he would be an asset to any school. Unfortunately two years showed little gains. According to the testimony of the assistant headmaster at his school and a large number of faculty:

> "We are very disappointed. He is being expelled at the end of this year. He has ability but he is soft in

> every way. His record is consistently failing...he has failed history, theology, Spanish, English, and mathematics and has no outstanding subjects...His academic potential and abilities did seem to be very good yet his performance has been very disappointing. It is tragic, we have tried to help and give him every opportunity. His work has slid and he has given up. He's even getting worse...He is active in class discussions but not always constructive or to the point. He has become the butt of his class, they kid him and he takes the worst of it.
>
> "He doesn't work and he often fails to complete assignments. There seems to be an inability to face reality. He just won't toughen up. He's lazy and very careless. He often doesn't do the work and is irresponsible. He studies much less than the average student...His educational problem is lack of drive and discipline. There is no will power: there seems to be a lack of any effort in anything...He could be college material but under the present circumstances, no. He could handle a good college if he worked, but at present there is not a chance. It is a surprise to us to find an ABC boy like this, with no drive...
>
> "He pretends he doesn't care but underneath he may be pretty discouraged. This has probably not been a good thing for him. He has been a failure here, a big fat slob and he's aware of it, but we cannot carry him any further. He pretends it rolls off his back but it doesn't...
>
> "He won't be coming back. Last spring we put him on probation. We should have dropped him at the end of this winter term, but as of this spring we have to expell him. He was sent to see our consulting psychiatrist. He could find nothing basically wrong other than that he's lazy and soft and has a lack of will power. In any case we don't really know why, but he just hasn't really applied himself. The environment may have been too much for him academically and socially. He must see the situation as impossible. The troubles appear largely of his own making. He acts childish and plays the fool. He doesn't learn from errors and mistakes. He's tardy, doesn't do things and is terribly disorganized. There is no strength of character. We cannot get him to work. He has wasted his opportunity. It is a pity." (Case 024)

The boy himself reported he was in a "bad way", not doing any work, and that he did not really know why other than he was lazy and not prepared for it. He just did not want to do the work and was not used to it. He knew he was near the bottom and did not like it, but avoided thinking about it and would not get down to work. He felt he was a failure and worried about it. One wonders what might have been done to prevent such failure and alter the direction of this boy's life. The causes of his failure are obscure; during the two years while he was at Dartmouth and in his preparatory school a number of concerned teachers had tried to help but with no success.

Next we will consider a representative case from the "DECLINE" group which constituted about 11% of the boys. These were students of at least adequate or even good ability whose academic work, while certainly not failing, appeared both from the faculty reports and their own account to have deteriorated during the two years. The boy we shall consider was a southern Negro who was recommended at the end of the first summer as an "outstanding" boy. At that time both his academic potential and academic motivation were regarded as excellent in all subjects. His work was consistently good and it was felt that he should have no problems in either academic or social adjustment to preparatory school. While in no serious academic difficulties, it was clear at the time of the follow-up study that he had not fulfilled the high expectations. His dean and his housemaster reported:

> "He is a boy of great potential. His IQ is around 140 and there is absolutely no cultural lag, but he should be doing better. We want him to really come through. So far his grades have been average, around a C. He hasn't failed any subjects but occasionally he gets into a jam in a course. He's had brief lags and near failures but has come through satisfactorily. He has honor grades in history and English. He has outstanding potential and should be near the top of his class but he isn't. His work is variable and erratic. There is some deficiency in application. He's always gotten by easily so he doesn't have good study habits...He's active and involved in class with his hand always up. He can make and take a wisecrack and has sparked the class, he's really fine there. He has a jovial and pleasant attitude and we all enjoy him in class...but we are disappointed in his work. It is careless and erratic. He studies considerably less than the average student because he's so much brighter. He puts in perhaps three to four hours a day but he never studies other than required hours...His motivation is 'low average'. He seems to have slipped slightly the last two years. He particularly has slipped with the cold weather. He has been in a freeze since December. He's not working up to potential. We have talked to him and he knows it...His main problem is lack of direction, apparently we haven't challenged him, and some laziness. It's not knowing what he really wants to do or what he can do. Perhaps he feels a little too superior and looks down on others. He's good in class and comes up with the timely answers that keep a class going. He very definitely is college material and could blend in almost anyplace. He has the brains, if only he had the drive he could fit in and make it in an Ivy League school. He's potentially strong but has a lot of growing to do.

> "There's been a metamorphosis, when he came here he was really 'gung-ho' and a leader, a really dynamic character but the boys have cooled off toward him. He's too aloof. It seems to be his fault; he's too haughty and aloof...His study habits have definitely slipped some. We sometimes wonder if a boy like this needs this type of program." (Case 006)

The boy himself recognized that he was not working up to his full potential but was generally satisfied with the school and education he was receiving. In some of the cases we will be looking at as we consider the boys own reports later in this chapter, we will find that a few boys felt their schools were intellectually stultifying. And as we will see in the next chapter, some of the students responded negatively to their peers and the social attitudes they encountered and that these adjustment problems affected their academic work. For other boys whose work declined the problem was rather one of becoming "too well adjusted" to the social life of the school and neglecting their academic work for other activities. A number of students turned in better academic records their first year when they felt under most pressure, but eased up the second year with a consequent decline in their grades.

Another small group of boys (9%) were classified as "SO-SO" or "MEDIOCRE" because there had been no great changes either up or down in their average or low average academic performance. One of these boys, a southern Negro from a rural area whose earlier schooling had been interrupted because of integration conflicts in his school district, was a particular disappointment. He was recommended at the end of the first summer as a good student who seemed to have fine potential and motivation. He possessed unusual social maturity, was highly articulate, and was one of the favorites among both fellow students and staff. In his preparatory school he did neither poorly nor well, but did continue to be unusually popular and socially active. According to his dean and his faculty advisor:

> "His work has been a little disappointing, he has made progress in all his courses but he could do much better...He's been a little too social...His grades are below average, around C-...He has had no failures, but math and science were near failures and he received warnings...He is well equipped mentally and has above average abilities, but it's a matter of getting going academically. He could be doing somewhat better. He has been improving slightly in some ways but has dropped in others. Overall he has stayed just about the same... in class he is a talker and charmer and easily liked. His teachers have mixed feelings, they're not really displeased but most feel he could be doing better. He has more potential than he is using and is slightly deficient in effort...His work is erratic. Sometimes he's totally unprepared and can be careless and has to be warned. Usually it's okay...He has shown some gains but not great ones but in some ways he shows a slight easing of efforts. He seems to have let down this year

> and doesn't have quite the drive he should. He has no major educational problems but perhaps is slightly deficient in long-term retention and integrating abilities.
>
> "The teachers find him witty, bright, and charming. He relates well to adults and is sincere and personable and trying to do a decent job but he could be doing a bit more.
>
> "He probably could not be a candidate for college scholarship money on his record so far. He probably could be a C student in a fairly good college. He works well under pressure and could do a satisfactory job.
>
> "He's outstandingly popular, one of the most popular boys we have in the school. He probably has the most extensive social life of any prep school boy I've ever seen...Maybe there has been some slight loss of academic drive." (Case 076)

The boy himself feels some dissatisfaction with his performance and realized he had become too carefree and unconcerned. College admissions did, in fact, prove more of a problem for him than it should have been.

The academic records of some boys from the largest group (i.e. 30%) those making definite academic "GAINS" will be examined next. These students are the kind of boys for whom the program was particularly intended, i.e. reasonably able students with definite academic motivation and drive who because of inadequate prior schooling would benefit by being placed in a more demanding and encouraging educational environment. It was hoped that such boys would respond positively to such transitions and show real and substantial gains. The staff reports on the two-year academic records of a large number of boys indicated that these hopes were not just fantasies. We will look at two typical boys from this group. The first, a Puerto Rican boy from New York City, was initially rather uncommitted to the program and its goals. During the interviews of the first summer he was one of the most outspokenly candid and critical boys, reporting how he resented all the work that he was expected to do during his summer "vacation" and how much he disliked missing all the "action" in the city. During the first weeks of the summer program, all of his teachers found him completely unprepared for work, somewhat disruptive, and felt it quite unlikely that he could be recommended to go on to independent school. However, very critical mid-term reports and the encouragement of his teachers and resident tutor helped initiate a dramatic transformation for the last half of the summer program. He appeared to be challenged and worked in quite an extraordinary way to win the respect of all his teachers. At the end of the first summer it was still felt that though he should be recommended to go on to independent school it was necessarily with some reservation. Therefore, it was with interest that his performance in preparatory school was followed up two years later. His dean and his individual advisor reported:

> "We are very definitely pleased. He is performing much better than would have been predicted from his entering test scores. His grades have been fairly good and are getting stronger. He was on the honor roll with a B- average for the first time last term. We were able to give him regular placements in all subjects. In Spanish he is advanced two years...He has never been close to failing or in any real difficulties...all his subjects are pretty good with Spanish outstanding...he has an average ability compared to boys here. On the basis of test scores alone we predicted something in the low 60's, a barely passing record, but he has an 80 average...He has been making excellent progress. His class participation is good and steady. He probably puts in a little bit more work than the average boy here. He shows very good motivation. There haven't been great changes in his work habits, they have been good all along, but his grades are coming up...He has a style about him. He's more worldly and mature than most boys his age. He knows what he wants. He is a talker and quite mature socially...
>
> "This has very definitely been a worthwhile educational experience for him. We think that despite poor tests he is probably fine college material. It is still a bit early to tell, but it looks as if he could stand a competitive college. We think he has what it takes...
>
> "Project ABC has been a good thing for him. He is successful here academically and involved in all the activities of the school. He is getting a rich full education." (Case 001)

Another boy from New York City, a Negro, also showed considerable academic gains. For him the level of work so far attained was not as high and progress appeared to have been more difficult. During the first summer he was an outstanding boy for his enthusiasm and cheerful disposition. Though he was well motivated it was recognized that he probably would have some academic problems. There was never any doubt that he was the "right" kind of boy for the program. This prediction was born out in the follow-up reports from his teacher:

> "He has been having problems. He's had real trouble in the sciences and weakness in mathematics. So far overall he has about a D average, with regular placement in all courses. Last year he failed biology for a term and was near failing in French and history. So far he has had no outstanding subjects... His abilities are fair compared to the other students. He still has more settling to do but probably can work into a C average across the board. His progress is satisfactory. He has been improving, it is gradual and steady, he is working...His class participation is always good. He talks a lot and is fun in class, everybody likes him...He is working hard now, much more than last year. He puts in the extra work to get him in the

> passing range...There are considerable changes in his study and work habits. He is working much more efficiently and hard. He does still have difficulties in math and is unsophisticated in science because he doesn't really have the basic concepts yet. These were very serious lacks at first...His teachers like to work with him, he's a good kid and appreciates extra help and always shows up for it. They see real gains...
>
> "He should do all right at a small liberal arts college but not a really demanding one. He is not a stand-out but probably can make it through college with a fair performance. He was severely handicapped when he came and was in bad shape academically. We certainly would gamble again on another boy like this...He has quieted down a bit and is more serious. He knows he has to work and is working...He has gained a lot: the academic aspects and general broadening. He probably sees himself differently and is more realistic as to his own strengths and limitations and has had a good reassessment. There probably has been some strain academically. Last year was really rough and I bet he thought over about coming back here last fall. Now he has the potential of college which I don't think he ever would have had before. He was a gamble." (Case 023)

Many other instances could be given of such "success" stories. Quite a large number of boys came to the program with either low abilities, or low motivation, or both and made substantial improvements. As we will shortly see from the students own accounts the academic challenges for many of the boys were extremely great. They encountered work of a difficulty and pace that they had never experienced before, were taxed to the limit of their abilities, and had to develop new skills. That this was beneficial for most of them seems clear. However, as we consider some of the changes occurring in the boys in later chapters we will find that there was also some personal cost involved.

For a large number of students the academic change was not as great or difficult. These boys (approximately 24%) were those we have classified "GOOD". From the time they entered independent school they produced fine work and had a high level of performance. Some of these boys have been among the outstanding students in their preparatory schools. We will cite the reports on a few of these boys. The dean of students of one of the Negro students reported:

> "We are extremely pleased. He has done brilliant work in all courses and is in the best section. He's great. He has an A record and is taking an extra course. He's among the top 5 or 6 boys in the school. He's very solid and good with regular grade standings. He's never failed or been near failing and has all honor grades. He has excellent academic capacities. He is a hard worker but also has real brains. Perhaps he performs even a little better than his abilities and

> may be an 'over-achiever'. He really works. Perhaps he's made some slight improvements but really he has always been good...He's quiet in class, not talkative and a bit shy but he's involved, the other students like him and respect him...His homework is excellent. He is meticulous and never misses. He's steady and careful. He studies a lot more than the average boy. His work has been steadily good, perhaps he is a bit more efficient now. He has good general intelligence and is very strong in math. This has certainly been a worthwhile educational experience for him. He has gained and is one of the highest. We would recommend a good college. He is strong in math but not quite as high in verbal abilities...This has been good for him. He hasn't lost his own charm and has made progress in what he has been able to learn. It's mainly that he's been given more academic opportunity rather than that there were any improvements in motivation. He was already good. Mainly the program was useful in that it gave him better opportunity but we really didn't do much that made a difference because he was already basically a good student." (Case 009)

In later chapters the problems of the American Indian students will be discussed but at this point it should be noted that Indian boys were represented in all the progress groups we have designated. One of the American Indian boys in the "GOOD" group was regarded as an outstanding student at his school:

> "He has done an outstanding job in every area. He is well rounded and one of the highest achievers in his house. His grades are excellent. He is very high in the class, about the top 10 percent...He has been good in everything: math, English, Spanish, and the rest...He has outstanding potential; intellectually he is very sound, intelligent and deep...His progress is outstanding.
>
> "He has been fully realizing his potentialities and using the opportunities here. He shows steady progress and rises to challenge...He is active in class and does extra things for his class. He is well liked by the boys and respected for his intelligence...His preparation is thorough and steady. Things come to him easier than for most students. He is a fast reader and covers the assigned material easily. Perhaps he spends less time than the average student on the required material but then he goes on to do extra work. He does a lot of extra work on his own and is a great reader...His motivation is excellent and he has maintained an initially good level of work. He is talented and has avid curiosity...His teachers find him pleasant, satisfying to work with, developing in every way, and very responsive...He

> definitely is outstanding academically and can handle any college. He is the ideal candidate and has talent and ambition.
>
> "His scope has widened quite a bit. He attends plays and concerts. He has an awareness of the arts and has awakened to politics. There are a lot of various impacts and developments...This had definitely been a good thing for him. He had an opportunity to do a job. It challenged him and he has done even better than expected." (Case 034)

Thus in this group of ABC students as for all the other ABC classes there have been a substantial number of students whose work has been outstandingly good. The range of performance from outright failure to unusual success is wide, and it is difficult to generalize in an overall fashion regarding the success of the program in its academic aspects. One thing certainly is clear: for a substantial body of students the ABC program has been as successful as hoped. Some students have made great gains and successfully made the transition from poor and inadequate schools to much more demanding educational environments. Other students who were quite good to begin with have also benefited and used the opportunities open to them.

ABC STUDENT REPORTS CONCERNING ACADEMIC WORK

In the two-year follow-up study we attempted to interview all of the students who had attended preparatory schools. We were successful in interviewing 72 out of the 74 boys who had attended independent schools. Of the 72 boys, 7 had dropped out of preparatory school and 65 had continued. Thus the group includes 7 of the 8 boys who left preparatory school. The percentages to be reported on responses to the various questions will be based on the responses of all 72 boys, which is almost the entire group of ABC students who attended independent schools. The questions that the boys were asked are found in Appendix D, Interview Schedule 3.

OVERALL STATISTICS. One of the questions asked of the boys was how the school work compared to what they had been used to before. This evaluation of academic work at independent school compared to their prior schooling showed the following distribution of responses:

49%	Much harder
32%	Harder
17%	About the same
2%	Easier

Thus 80% of the boys found the work harder.

They were asked how the teaching and academic character of the independent schools differed. The nature of the academic differences cited were as follows:

76%	More difficult, faster pace, higher level of work
69%	Smaller classes and more individual help

54%	Better quality of teaching
13%	Better academic atmosphere, more intellectual stimulation
8%	Better facilities and greater variety of courses
10%	No great differences

Thus most found the work more demanding and reported they had smaller classes and received more individual help. About half mentioned distinct improvements in quality of teaching they received.

The boys were asked whether they felt they received special attention because of their status as an ABC student. According to their reports 88% felt they were treated the same as other boys, 8% felt they received some special attention or a bit of extra help, and only 4% felt that they received unusual attention or help or were judged by lower standards. Thus most of the boys felt with respect to academic matters they were treated no differently from other students at their independent school.

There was detailed discussion with each student regarding his performance both in terms of grades received and his own feelings concerning his work. The grade records have already been discussed in the section on faculty reports, and here we will devote most of our attention to the student's own feelings regarding his academic work. The boys' satisfaction or dissatisfaction with their academic records showed the following distribution:

3%	Indifferent, stopped caring, gave up
28%	Very dissatisfied
28%	Somewhat dissatisfied
8%	Mixed feelings
19%	Somewhat pleased
14%	Very pleased

They were asked whether their grades were better or poorer than they had initially expected. The relationship of grades and performance to prior expectation had the following distribution:

3%	Don't know or had no specific expectation
14%	Much poorer
32%	Somewhat poorer
17%	The same, about what expected
22%	Somewhat better
13%	Much better

Taking the two tables together it would appear that about a third of the students were pleased with their academic records, but that the other two-thirds had varying degrees of mixed feelings or dissatisfaction. For almost a third the feelings of dissatisfaction were great. Some were doing poorer than they had expected while others were doing better. In later chapters we will indicate how various feelings about academic performance related to the ratings of how well or poorly the students were doing but, in passing, it might be remarked that there was no necessarily simple relationship between how well or poorly a student did and how he felt. Most teachers, of course, are familiar with the good student who is unhappy about his grades and the poor student who should be distressed but isn't particularly. Between expectation, satisfaction, and actual performance, there is no simple relationship.

The students were asked in which subjects they had had difficulties. Of the entire group the percentages of students reporting difficulties in a particular subject was as follows:

33%	None, no great difficulties
25%	Mathematics
22%	English
22%	Foreigh languages
19%	Science
11%	History and social sciences
4%	Humanities, religion, philosophy, etc.

The reasons cited for difficulties in these particular subjects showed the following distribution for the entire group:

33%	Not applicable
32%	Lack of background in subject, poor prior preparation
29%	Lack of basic abilities and general skills
26%	Poor study habits, lack of organization and discipline
22%	Lack of motivation and interest
6%	Criticism of teachers and courses
4%	Inability to take examinations and do well on quizzes

Thus about one-third of the students had no particular problems. Those students reporting difficulties were evenly distributed among the basic core subjects, with the exception of the social sciences and humanities which seemed to cause fewer problems. A variety of reasons were given for the difficulties. In some cases it was lack of adequate prior preparation or lack of basic skills; in other cases it was poor study habits or lack of motivation. No single problem seemed to predominate among the reasons for difficulties in these particular courses.

The students were asked how they felt their work had been going during the past two years in preparatory school and the reasons for change. For the entire group the distribution on evaluation of progress during the last two years was as follows:

6%	Getting much worse
15%	Getting somewhat worse
15%	The same, always poor
7%	The same, always satisfactory, or good
39%	Improved
18%	Greatly improved

Thus 64% of the students felt that their work has always been satisfactory or definitely improved (with 57% feeling it improved). The other 36% felt their work was always poor or had gotten worse (with 21% feeling that it had become poorer). It will be recalled that it was on the basis of these reports combined with the faculty reports that we designated a group of students (11%) where there had been a very definite "DECLINE" in academic performance. Soon we shall look at some of the boys own first-hand accounts of the academic changes, but first we will continue with overall percentages of responses to the questions.

Where the student reported no improvement or a decline in performance, he was asked the reasons he was doing poorly. The reasons given for lack of improvement showed the following percentages for the entire group:

64%	Not applicable, (stayed the same or improving)
19%	Lack of motivation or academic drive
19%	Poor study habits, hasn't learned how to organize and discipline himself
8%	Lack of basic ability and skills, work too hard, doesn't understand
7%	Lack of background, inadequate prior preparation
6%	Personal problems and adjustment difficulties at school
1%	Personal problems at home

Thus, most students reported no great problems, but those who did cited lack of academic motivation and poor study habits as the major reasons for difficulties. For a small number, the work was felt to be too demanding and beyond their abilities. Some students also cited adjustment problems as hindering their academic progress. (These will be discussed in the next chapter.)

The ABC boys were asked how they felt their relative study time compared to other students at their school. About 80% estimated it to be about average; 10% considerably below average and definitely not sufficient; and 10% much greater than average.

The ABC students were also asked how they compared academically with their classmates and how they felt about it. Their estimate of their own academic standing relative to other students at their school was as follows:

8%	Failing, at the very bottom
13%	Poor, way below average
11%	Somewhat below average
24%	Average, about in the middle
15%	Somewhat above average
13%	Very good, well above average
17%	Excellent, near the top

Thus the ABC students saw themselves in a variety of relative standings compared to their classmates. Most students were realistically aware of where they stood. With respect to their feelings about their relative academic standing the following distribution was obtained:

1%	Indifferent, doesn't really care
21%	Very disappointed
24%	Mildly disappointed
11%	Mixed
28%	Satisfied
15%	Very satisfied

As is to be expected because of the spread in abilities and achievement, a variety of responses was obtained. Some students were hopelessly outclassed and unhappy because of this, while other students were doing well and had ample cause for gratification. Most students were realistic in their response, though occasionally a student in real trouble tended to be blandly indifferent or an excellent student was overly worried about his work.

The students were asked about the differences they saw in their study and work habits from what they formerly were. The overall changes in study and work habits reported by the entire group were:

1%	Getting much worse
7%	Getting somewhat worse
13%	The same, always poor
8%	The same, always good
40%	Improved somewhat
31%	Improved greatly

Thus, 70% felt their study habits had improved while 20% felt that they had remained poor or become worse. In the entire group, specific improvements in study habits cited were:

18%	None mentioned
69%	Better organization and self-discipline
25%	More academic motivation and higher goals
11%	Greater general interests

The specific decrements in study habits mentioned were:

72%	None mentioned
17%	Lower motivation, less interested and involved, less ambitious
14%	Poorer organization, less self-discipline

In summary, then, the students' reports on their academic work were predominantly of gains and improvements. However, many felt they had not improved and there were some definite cases where boys felt their academic work had declined. We will now look at individual examples from the students' own comments to make these reports real and alive.

REPRESENTATIVE COMMENTS. In presenting representative comments from the ABC boys regarding their academic work, we will employ the classification groups introduced earlier into this chapter, i.e. "POOR", "DECLINE", "SO-SO", "GAINS", and "GOOD". For each of these groups we will look at typical reports regarding their academic work made by some representative boys.

The first boy we shall consider in the "POOR" group (26% of the total) is a southern Negro who dropped out of his independent school on his own accord early in his second year. At times his recollection of events or his answers to questions were vague and disorganized; and throughout his manner was lethargic:

> "I never really got accustomed to doing homework. I couldn't concentrate and my mind wandered. You had to do a lot more work at prep school and really had to concentrate...I liked the teachers better at prep school. Here at home the teachers act more like it's a job, at prep school they acted like they really wanted you to understand...I didn't like the way I was doing, I felt I should be doing better but I couldn't concentrate on homework. I don't know why. I just wanted to forget about homework and would rather read magazines. I've never gotten any satisfaction about what I do in school. I hoped I would do some better, but I hadn't set a standard as to how well I should do.
>
> "I think I failed French, I'm not sure. I can't remember. Anyway French never got across to me. I couldn't stand going to class because I never understood and got frustrated. I forgot lots and lots and didn't understand. My grades stayed about the same. I was doing the same but feeling less satisfied. I had real trouble concentrating on homework. I was depressed being away from home and later about my work. I just couldn't work like I thought I should...I tried not to say anything in class unless I thought it was right. I had trouble communicating with people, I always have.
>
> "I didn't study much - less than the hours that you were supposed to. Sometimes I wouldn't do anything during study period, I just sat. I had trouble starting to study and couldn't keep going. They studied more, they stuck to it...I felt I was near the bottom. I just felt dumb. It bothered me. I couldn't concentrate. I couldn't read as fast as you should in a school like that...I was depressed about the work, I just couldn't do it.
>
> "At the beginning of the second year I felt it wasn't worthwhile going through it all again. I decided to leave by myself." (Case 011)

This boy returned briefly to his old high school, but also failed there and dropped out. In a later chapter we will consider the various circumstances under which students dropped out of independent schools and what has happened to them subsequently.

Another representative student from the "POOR" group was a Negro from a medium sized city in the mid-west who had to leave his school in the middle of the second year because of his poor academic record and lack of effort:

> "There was too much work. I had homework every night which I never did before...At first I was treated like the other boys, but when I wasn't working they gave me more attention...Everybody told me I wasn't doing what I should. After awhile I got pretty negative. I

> wouldn't work. I just read other paperback books in study hall. I felt pushed and resented it. I got a mean streak in me and am stubborn. I failed just about everything, except English where I got a C-... My work got worse. I didn't like to be pushed. I have a stubborn streak. All my teachers were pushing me and especially the headmaster and my advisors. I tended to give up altogether.
>
> "I studied probably 30 or 45 minutes a day - considerably less than the other boys. At first I used to do about an hour and a half, but as time went on I spent less and less.
>
> "I was very close to the bottom, it didn't bother me. I wasn't content, but it didn't bother me. I had a 'don't care' attitude. I don't know why. At times I didn't want to bother to study. Sometimes I wouldn't even bother to take a test: I'd just sit there and look at it, just flunk the test, just in a daze.
>
> "The teachers tried to help me but when I still rebelled they didn't try as much. A few kept trying to egg me on. I wanted them to leave me alone. I did need their help, but I didn't want to show it...Now I feel it was a bad error. I've regretted it and felt it a bad mistake. But I still haven't done anything to make up for it this year in school back here...I have a streak of laziness...I never seem to be able to do my best. I put very little effort in school work. It has caught up with me." (Case 016)

The comments of two boys from the "DECLINE" group (11% of the boys) will be presented. The first, a White boy, had done very well during the initial summer program and was regarded as having excellent academic potential and high motivation at that time. He was considered somewhat reserved and aloof, but unusually mature with considerable breadth of intellectual interests. In his preparatory school his record was somewhat above average, but it was felt that he was not working up to capacity. He himself was highly critical of the school and its academic atmosphere. (It should be noted that other boys at the same school had responded far more positively and showed considerable improvement.)

> "There is more work here and it is more detailed, but not particularly harder or easier. I think we covered more back home than we do here. I liked the teaching better back home. There was more coverage and I could spend more time on it...I seem to have less personal contact with teachers here than I had at home. I'm disappointed, at home the teachers knew me better than they do here.
>
> "I'm dissatisfied with my grades. I feel I could have done better. I don't seem to be able to push myself as hard as I could in my old junior high school where I could bring all my forces to bear.

> "I'm an average student, but I feel that I could be more up toward the top. I am a little disappointed. I cannot concentrate on the things I'm not interested in... At public school I could get all the work done in a shorter time and go faster there. Here there is both more work and harder work but my study habits are about the same basically...I do about what is expected of me. I, myself, think I could do better, but on the whole I do what's expected.
>
> "I haven't got interested in any activities here. I tried some things but they didn't last. They just can't seem to interest me here, perhaps because I don't feel as close to the faculty or as close to the students...I feel stuck in the middle of nowhere...I am not reading as much as I used to and don't feel as educationally challenged as I used to. I feel I might have gotten the same or more at home." (Case 056)

For this boy and some others in the "DECLINE" group the problems seemed more due to dislike of the isolation of their schools or dislike of peer group values, rather than basically due to differences in the academic program.

Unhappiness over isolation of the school and the peer group atmosphere were factors in the poor performance of another boy in the "DECLINE" group; but for him there also appeared to have been a second year slump because of inability to discipline himself as the stricter routine and pressures of the first year diminished.

> "The work here is not too much more advanced but it is more intensive. I was in a good high school so I don't feel there is a great deal of difference in the level. I don't have enough time for outside reading now. The teaching here is much better. Each teacher is talking to you and you have more personal contact and help.
>
> "The first year was really good. I had a 75 average and my studies were in a groove. This year my studies are not as good and I am having difficulties. I have more privileges, they have gone to my head and I am not working as hard. I feel I have to be more held-in-check. I am dissatisfied with myself, not with the school.
>
> "I started out much better last year but have been slipping quite a bit. It bothers me and depresses me for awhile, but I bounce back. I don't know why exactly, but I find it hard to settle down...I spend more time than I should on sports. I probably do study more than the average boy because I need to, a lot more...I am near the bottom of the class. Last year I was near the middle; now I'm down to the bottom quarter. It makes me mad because I know I'm better. I have trouble buckling down and concentrating. I'm quite disappointed

> in myself. I need to find myself. I need the restrictions. I eased up this year...I cannot discipline myself, I hope I get over it." (Case 080)

We will consider the comments of only one boy in the "SO-SO" or "MEDIOCRE" group (approximately 9% of the boys). It will be recalled that for these boys there has been little change in a low average level of performance. The boy we are to consider had a fair record during the initial summer at Dartmouth. His resident tutor at that time, while commenting that he was personable and had many attractive qualities, noted that he was "often satisfied with a second-rate effort and he does not strive to be at the top of his class, but rather comfortably in the pack". That characteristic persisted as was evident from the boy's own comments two years later:

> "The work is some harder and the grading is much harder than in my old school. I do have to work harder here. The teachers are better trained and more efficient.
>
> "Academically I'm pretty satisfied, but I think I could do some better. As long as I get 75 or 80 I don't mind, I'm pretty satisfied. I won't strain to get higher grades because I like to be in lots of activities. I'm not doing quite as well as I expected because the standards are higher. I'm improving gradually, adjusting to this kind of life and teaching...I study about average or perhaps a little more but I don't overstrain myself...I am a little higher than the middle of the class. I have the potential to be in the top 10, but I don't put in all I could because I have too many activities and don't want to overwork. I am satisfied but I would like to be a bit higher...I'm fairly satisfied. I'm still trying to do better gradually; but not go overboard working." (Case 013)

We have seen how the faculty and staff members at the independent schools were solidly impressed with the improvement in the 30% of the students classified in the "GAINS" group. The students themselves were no less enthusiastic and eloquent regarding the progress they felt they had made. To give some sense of the changes experienced and the gains made, we will look in detail at the comments of the two boys we heard about earlier in the chapter and also look at the comments of another typical boy from this group.

The first boy in the "GAINS" group is the Puerto Rican boy from New York who, it will be recalled, was initially uncommitted to the program but who made marked gains the first summer and continued them in his preparatory school:

> "It's like comparing nothing with something great! I did nothing at home. My old school was a fiesta, we never did anything. Here the teacher can leave the room and no one cheats. At home everybody would cheat, even when the teacher was in the room. The teachers and students have a more personal relationship here and

> the class is smaller. All the teachers will go out of their way to help the students...
>
> "I am pretty satisfied with my grades. Sometimes I think I could apply myself more, but basically I am satisfied. I am in the 78 - 85 range and doing all right. I am doing much better now. At first I thought I was going to flunk everything, now I apply myself much more...My grades are going up slowly. I know just how much time to give to each subject. I concentrate much more and put myself to it much more. I never go to class without my assignment done. I have gotten up early and gone to bed late to get the work done...I can study well when I'm left alone and not distracted, I do well in the library. I am wide awake in class and when I am well prepared I want to participate. The reading course at Dartmouth helped a lot, I can skim rapidly and efficiently.
>
> "My life would be ruined if I was kicked out. This has been my stepping-stone, otherwise I would have been with the factory workers...I haven't had much time for clubs and activities. I haven't got the time, I have to work and make use of the little time I have...This has been great! It has put the pressure on me and made me work. At times I complain and don't enjoy it, but deep inside it's good. ABC has gotten me out of the laziness show." (Case 001)

The second boy we will consider in the "GAINS" group is the boy whose faculty reports were also reported in the previous section. This was the student whose progress had been more difficult but who was notable for his enthusiasm and "rightness" for this kind of program:

> "The work has been real hard. You cannot let down, you cannot put it off, you have to do it and not get behind. It's real hard! At home nobody was serious about education, up here they are serious and you have to work all the time. There's a lot more individual attention here. If you don't understand you have an opportunity to go and get extra help. Before it was mostly memorizing, but here they are worried about you really understanding...
>
> "Last year I was very disappointed. I had very poor grades, I didn't work hard enough. This year I worked much harder and my grades have improved some. I'm disappointed that my grades are not better, but I am satisfied that I am working hard now...I am improving a lot from last year and am devoting more time to my studies. Now I am active in all my classes and ask questions. They are interesting and we have good discussions.
>
> "...I am in the top half of my class. Maybe even near the top third. I am competing with the better boys and try to model myself on them. I want to do

> better but am not upset when I don't. I'm not smart but I work hard and if you work hard you get smart! Besides good memorization, that is what I have going for me...I used to just rush through my work. Here I'm thinking all the time. I don't just read and close the book. Now I read, take notes, close the book, and think about it. I am trying my best and it is coming.
>
> "ABC has done a lot for me. It gave me a chance to get out of my neighborhood where I would have done nothing. I see another way of life now." (Case 023)

Many similar comments were made by the large number of boys whose work had improved. But as a final representative of this "GAINS" group, we present the testimony of an American Indian boy:

> "The work has been very hard. It took me almost a year and a half to catch up. There are much higher standards here: you're expected to know a lot and it is up to you to do your work here. They care and will help but it is up to you. The teachers are really great. You are treated like an adult here. It is on a manly basis, they are frank with you. They are free and easy, informal and relaxed but you learn from them. I work for attention. There are a lot of teachers I admire and I feel they admire me. I do get some special attention as an Indian and an ABC boy, but I get it mostly because I am interested and working.
>
> "It has taken me a year and a half to catch up. I am still having trouble with some courses and just now am really getting the hang of it, but I expect to catch up. It has been hard and I am not yet satisfied, I still want to do better. I have done poorer than I expected, because I didn't realize how much I had to catch up.
>
> "My work is improving in spurts. I am making definite progress. I like it here so much I don't want to leave. Doing so well in other things here, sports and activities has increased my self-confidence... I would like to be near the top but it doesn't bother me greatly. I cannot be near the very top but I would like to do a little better...I do study a lot more and know how to study and am better organized. There's lots of improvement." (Case 053)

These examples could be multiplied many times over. For this group, the testimony of the boys and the reports of their faculty were in good agreement. There was no question but that in the eyes of both students and staff a very considerable body of the students had made real and substantial gains in their academic work over the two-year period.

For the 24% of the students in the "GOOD" group the academic work had at no time presented great problems - they were never in serious academic difficulties. However, most of these students, no less than the others, found the work at the independent schools more challenging and felt there had been definite gains and improvement in their academic work habits. The great majority of them responded very positively to their new academic environment. Some representative statements will be given from these boys whose work was always very good or outstanding:

> "The work has not been too hard. Perhaps it was because the summer program helped prepare me. Certainly the work here is harder than I used to have in my old school; but it gets through better because the teaching here is much better. The teachers are very capable. There is more participation in class and the teachers are more interested. They really help the students and there is more dedication here. In my public school the teachers had gotten disgusted because the students were just lounging about...
>
> "I am not dissatisfied with my grades, but not satisfied either because I'm not getting straight A's. I try my best in everything and I am doing a little better than I expected. I am working harder and have gotten more interested in work since I came here. My work is steadily improving...
>
> "I am near the top of my class. I am more dedicated now to what I am doing. I have goals I never had before. I want to get to a good college and get a good job. Surprisingly I really like it now...I'm having a rather good time! My whole life has changed, my goals and my aspirations. I am more eager to get ahead." (Case 033)

Another boy who stood high in his class reported:

> "It has been easy for me. I was surprised because I expected it to be hard. Here the courses are better organized and fit together better from year to year. There is more criticism and evaluation rather than just mechanical learning. The teachers here don't have to be as strict as they were in my junicr high school and they make you feel more at home.
>
> "I am pretty satisfied with my grades, - much better than I expected. I am working hard. Being a Negro, I want to set an example and impress people. I want to show them that a Negro is smart!
>
> "I study a least 8 hours a day. I get up early in the morning, use all the study halls in the day and take late hours at night. I'm in the top 5% and feel pretty good.
>
> "I'm learning to study better. Before I used to study with the TV on, now I really study and work harder. I'm better organized and budget my time better. I'm doing a good job; but I have to improve my vocabulary and reading speed for college tests...I have more knowledge, you just can't help getting smarter here. I'm getting a better look at things and getting to see

> more about international events. I am more aware. I can see myself making a name for myself now. I have a good chance now that I couldn't have had before." (Case 028)

Another student in the "GOOD" group, a Puerto Rican, reported:

> "The work is very hard. I have to stay up late or get up early so many times. There was a big difference, a great gap: in my old school you could pass without reading the books. I never did any work and used to be number 2 or 3 in my class. I am getting the best possible education here. The classes are so much smaller and the teacher knows you personally. It is so different. When you write themes you can express your own personal points. You can learn so much in classes of 10, but you always have to be prepared and there is plenty of homework...
>
> "I started out doing a little above average, then I went up higher and higher and am now making the honor roll. I am out to work and I know how. I'm pleased with how I'm doing which is better than I expected... I'm improving steadily. I'm used to studying hard now. I'm getting reading skills and studying skills, - they get built into you beginning at Dartmouth.
>
> "I get involved in class and really get excited. The other boys are a little amused by my accent but respect me...I probably study a little more than average. I work hard to go as far as my limits. Sometimes I don't get enough sleep. I love geometry you really have to think in that subject. I can spend an hour on a problem and get real satisfaction. I can solve problems that others can't...I work much harder now, I spend more time and concentrate. My reading has improved a great deal and that helps a lot. I am doing the best that I can do and am very satisfied." (Case 067)

This review of the students' own reports regarding their academic work has clearly shown the wide range of performance. Some students because of low abilities or poor motivation did very poorly. Some did only fair work and others declined for various reasons. However, it appears from the students' reports that the predominant movement was toward academic improvement. Many students whose work was initially poor made considerable academic gains. Others whose work was initially satisfactory or good have continued to move ahead. The underlying causes for poor or good performance and for the direction of change are not always easily accounted for. Beyond the obvious explanation that some students tried and some students did not, there are the very difficult questions concerning the basic sources of academic and achievement motivation. In later chapters we will examine some of the characteristics that were associated with success and failure in this program. First, however, we will look at some further evidence concerning the academic changes occurring during the two years.

INTELLIGENCE AND ACHIEVEMENT TEST CHANGES

We heard from the testimony of the independent school teachers and the ABC students that in most cases they were convinced of solid academic gains. Certainly not all students were seen as having gained academically by the faculty or in their own eyes; - but clearly most were considered to have benefited and improved. This kind of personal testimony is encouraging - but also somewhat suspect to a wary research psychologist aware of the amply documented human tendency to see only virtues and benefits in the causes and courses to which one has become deeply committed. The sobering psychological research on cognitive dissonance, commitment and social role playing, and psychotherapy evaluation to cite but a few outstanding examples, (let alone human history!) all counsel us to have skepticism regarding claims of change. Personal convictions of change should have significant consequences ultimately, but it is important to try to find some independent substantiation of the degree and nature of the changes, if any.

In designing the ABC evaluation research, it had been felt necessary to plan to gather impartial and objective evidence to attempt to document the hoped for and confidently expected academic gains of the ABC students. To do so, some widely used intelligence and achievement tests were administered to ABC students and controls to discover what, if any, significant changes in basic abilities occurred during the first two years of the students' participation in the program. The two tests used were the Otis Self-Administering Test of Mental Ability and the Educational Testing Service 1960 Cooperative English Test. These tests were selected as established and validated measures that have had considerable service in predicting school performance and for the study of academic abilities, growth, and changes. (As will be seen later, these tests did show considerable relationship to level of academic performance in the ABC group.)

Many educators and psychologists have been concerned because of the unfortunate history of the concept of "intelligence" and the frequent misuse and misinterpretation of "intelligence tests". The early professional views advanced in the 1920's when the "intelligence tests" first began to find wide use in school systems tended to regard "intelligence" in large measure as inherited or innate mental potential, little subject to modification. These views have tended to persist in the general public and much effort has been necessary to correct some of the misunderstanding of the nature of "intelligence" and the significance of the tests. Reviews of the history and changes regarding the concept of intelligence and intelligence testing, and particularly the influence of social class influences may be found in Tuddenham (1962) and Tyler (1965, pp. 61-123, 299-364). Recent discussions have shown much more awareness of the role of environmental factors in affecting intelligence test scores. Research on the effects of cultural deprivation has found that cognitive development is greatly affected by the complexity and richness of environmental stimulation, particularly during the early years (Deutsch, *et al.*, 1967). Though there is evidence for gains in I.Q. scores with special enrichment programs, the full nature, extent, duration and age — specific features of such development still remain to be worked out.

One of the questions we had in this research was whether a general measure of mental ability would show any great changes for the ABC students. The Otis Self-Administering Test of Mental Ability selected is a group test of intelligence. It is a rather old instrument having been used in school systems since the 1920's. Like most group tests of mental ability it gives a single undifferentiated score for mental ability. It does not differentiate various aspects of cognitive function. Studies indicate the single "I.Q." score derived shows high correlation with the scores that would be obtained on individual administration of Binet and Wechsler types of intelligence test. The Otis test, like most verbal intelligence tests, shows moderately high correlations with academic performance (i.e., grades). These tests are regarded by most psychologists as being rough measures of developed academic potential or general school ability that have definite utility when judiciously used for estimating probable academic performance. The use of such tests has been subject to considerable criticism, some justified and some unjustified, and in certain school systems their use has been curtailed in the hope of preventing their inappropriate interpretation and misuse in a discriminatory fashion against minority groups and disadvantaged children. However, wisely and appropriately used these tests do serve useful functions in educational settings. Some of the problems and dangers in the administration and interpretation of the tests have been cited in Fishman et. al. (1964). We used the tests not because we uncritically accept them, but because they have shown their value in the assessment of developed general abilities and in the prediction of academic performance. Of all psychological tests they have the longest history of development behind them and work the best — though unfortunately on the basis of the evidence even that claim still can only be a modest one. (The knowledgeable psychologist using any test is customarily dissatisfied with it!)

The Educational Testing Service 1960 Cooperative English Test is what is usually called an "Achievement Test" in the area of basic English skills. Like most ETS tests it has had considerable work in its development and has available large scale norms based on research in many school systems across the country. The Coop English Test has two major sections: a group of reading comprehension tests and a group of English expression tests. The Reading Comprehension section has scores for: Vocabulary an index of verbal skill measured in terms of ability to select correct definitions; Level of Comprehension reflecting how well the student can interpret passages he has read; and Speed of Comprehension dependent on rapidity of reading with understanding. The English Expression section has a single score based on sub-tests assessing "effectiveness" as indicated by aptness of word choices and "mechanics" wherein the student is required to find errors in usage, (spelling, punctuation, etc.). From all these sub-tests, a "Total English" score is derived in an attempt to produce a single overall estimate of a student's proficiency in the kinds of reading and expression skills that the tests measure. (Cooperative English Test Manuals, 1960).

The Otis Intelligence Test and Cooperative English Test were administered to the ABC students and Controls at the time of initial application to the program and at the time of the follow-up study two years later. The detailed results of this test-retest study are presented in *Tables 1a* and *1b* in *Appendix C*. Overall the test results indicate that there have been *no* startling changes for ABC or Control groups on either the intelligence or the achievement tests. There are some statistically significant differences, but basically the picture is not one of dramatic change.

On the Otis Intelligence Test the entire group of retested ABC students showed essentially no change (Table 1a). Their mean I.Q. score on initial testing was 114.3 and on retesting 113.3 which is not a significant difference. The ABC sub-sample and the matched Control groups (both limited to students still enrolled in school) showed again no significant change for the ABC students but a statistically significant decrease of three I.Q. points for the Control group (Table 1b). *On the basis of these data we certainly can make no claims for general mental ability gains by the ABC students, at least as measured by a traditional group intelligence test*. There is a possibility that their peers who remained in their home schools may have declined somewhat in general abilities. Of course, with this kind of test and scoring it is important to recognize that we are dealing with scores that are based on *age-related* norms derived from large national samples. Therefore, we can only say that it appears as if the ABC students as a group are holding their own in terms of general population norms and that the Control group has slipped slightly but significantly.

It will be recalled that earlier in the chapter we differentiated the entire ABC group into five sub-groups on the basis of their reports on their academic performance at their schools "POOR, "DECLINE", "SO-SO", "GAINS", and "GOOD". Analysis of the changes occurring on the Otis I.Q. *within* these five sub-groups did *not* reveal any statistically significant changes. All groups showed essentially the same I.Q. score on test-retest.

The test-retest data on the Cooperative English Test did not show any extraordinary changes either. For the entire ABC group (Table 1a) all of the mean percentile scores on the various sub-tests were in the 70's on both original test and two-year retest. That is to say, at time of entrance to the program and two years later, relative to general U.S. high school population norms the ABC students averaged about three-quarters of the way up the distribution. On retesting some scores went up slightly and some scores went down slightly. There was a non-significant tendency toward increase on "*vocabulary*" and a statistically significant (but small) increase on the *English Expression* percentile scores; suggesting some gains on ability to select appropriate English usage and discover incorrect usage. The comparison of the ABC sub-sample and the matched Controls (both groups still in school, i.e. *no "drop-outs"*) indicated *no* statistically significant changes (Table 1b). *Thus it would appear that as far as basic English skills, at least as measured by this particular achievement test, there were no startling changes for either the ABC students or the Controls*.

The analysis of the Coop English Test changes according to the sub-groups of ABC students previously differentiated on the degree of their improvement or lack of, according to the school faculty reports did not show any great differences between the various sub-groups. It was anticipated that perhaps the gains would be more marked in those students who had been reported to change the most and correspondingly smaller in the students whose work had remained poor or declined. However, these data (which are not presented here) did not show any marked differences for these groups in terms of change. But there were definite tendencies for the sub-groups to differ on the level of their initial scores on the Coop Test. The group which had been consistently "GOOD" tended to have its mean group scores in the 80th to 90th percentile whereas the "GAINS" group tended to be in the 70th to 80th percentile and the "POOR" group in the 60th to 70th percentile. On retest, the groups tended to maintain their relative initial levels of performance rather than showing marked changes.

It is an important fact that we have found few significant changes, or only minor ones, on these two tests measuring basic scholastic abilities. Certainly one implication is that various "compensatory" programs for the "disadvantaged" must be more modest in their expectations and claims. Much of the nationwide publicity that has attended the initiation of various programs has sounded rather extravagant, at least to the writer, and without adequate substantiation. Certainly the ABC program in terms of potential academic impact is as great, if not greater, than most programs: for the students' school environments were dramatically altered and they were placed in much more challenging and demanding academic situations and for sustained periods. Also a considerable body of the program's emphasis was placed on basic academic skills, particularly Reading and English. *Yet despite all these features which would lead one to expect demonstrable improvements on these abilities and achievement tests, in these data we have found no convincing evidence that major gains have occurred.* Of course one possible explanation is that basic cognitive and mental ability levels as measured by intelligence tests are already essentially established by high school age. There may be very little modifiability or advance in basic cognitive capacities possible at this age, and that any possible effects of enriched schooling might rather be more in areas like the acquisition of specific skills, general cultural knowledge and awareness, and attitudes toward academic work and achievement. This would be to argue, then, that while "basic abilities" may be quite firmly established by this point, there still could be other kinds of important gains coming from enriched educational opportunities. Certainly anyone involved in higher education has some reason to believe that significant growth is occurring beyond childhood! However, the present evidence suggests that we should be very cautious in our expectations of how great the gains may be in terms of basic "mental abilities" and capacities. Certainly there is a considerable body of theoretical argument and some research evidence indicating the very critical significance of *early* childhood and the formative *early* school years in affecting level of abilities (Deutsch, *et al*, 1967).

Another consideration concerning these intelligence and achievement test findings is the level of ability of the ABC students. It is evident from both the test results and our earlier discussion of the characteristics of the boys that we are dealing with an unusual and selected group. These are students who have been outstanding in what generally are inferior school systems. They were almost all near the top or very high in class standing at their home schools and probably had received special attention throughout their school years because of their recognized ability. On the I.Q. tests they were about one standard deviation above the general population norms and on national norms in various achievement tests had group averages in the top quarter. Therefore, as we have argued earlier, it is important to recognize that perhaps it is more appropriate to consider these students as "poor" or "disadvantaged" but not necessarily "culturally deprived". In other words, this would argue that these students have already been functioning quite well scholastically and that the change in academic environments probably would not result in much of an increment in their basic abilities.

None-the-less, the lack of change on the English Achievement Tests is disconcerting as it certainly would seem to be measuring some of the English skills that are acquired in secondary schools and subject to modification according to curriculum and teaching levels. When a research instrument fails to produce some expected findings one always wonders how adequate the instrument is. However, it would seem that the Coop English Test cannot lightly be dismissed on this score, as it is a well-constructed test and as we will show later had high value for predicting the academic performance of the ABC students. So it would seem that the instrument should have shown major changes if there were any. Perhaps it should be mentioned that we are looking for relative changes, that is to say, we are dealing with grade-related norms. There is no question that absolutely the ABC students have shown the kind of expected advances in moving the equivalent of two school years. However, relative to the general standardized population norms they have been essentially holding their own. These interpretations are all predicated on the assumption that the Cooperative English Test is adequately measuring the range of skills in this area and on how ready one is to make that assumption. It certainly looks, on careful examination of the tests, as if they should be satisfactory measures of basic skills in Reading Comprehension and the Mechanics of English usage. However, there may be other very significant areas of English Expression in which there have been gains that are not assessed by the test. As an example we might cite the degree to which the ABC students have become increasingly articulate and able to express themselves. One of the most striking impressions interviewing these students was the two-year change in their ability to be aware of and express their personal feelings. In large measure this may be a function of increased self-confidence and the acquisition of new norms for expressivity and openness; but it would also seem that a very large component of this change must be due to the highly verbal school environments where regularly in classroom and social situations the students are called upon to express their opinions and their bases. Such constant challenge, which characterizes in high degree a large number of the schools the students are attending, must inevitably lead to increased verbal facility. In short, it may be that the achievement tests used did not reflect some major areas of growth in the effective use of the English language in genuine communication and were too narrowly focused on mechanics and grammar in a traditional examination sense.

We do not now wish to anticipate too many of the findings concerning personal changes. However, it must be noted at this point that, while not specifically in the area of academic skills narrowly defined in terms of ability in achievement tests, there was considerable evidence for changes in academic motivation and interests. These will be considered later. But, in any case, the fact does remain that we did not find any very striking changes in intelligence and achievement test performance in our two-year follow-up.

STATUS AT BEGINNING OF FOURTH YEAR AND COLLEGE ADMISSIONS

The detailed follow-up study that forms the basis for this report was made at the end of the ABC boys' second year at the preparatory schools. However, there have been subsequent inquiries to determine the boys' progress. At the beginning of what would be their fourth year at the schools (if they continued there), the status of the original group of 82 boys in our study was:

STATUS AT BEGINNING OF FOURTH YEAR

%	N	Status
2	2	Left during first summer
6	5	Not recommended to go on to independent school at end of first summer
1	1	Recommended to attend independent school but chose not to attend
16	13	Attended independent school but dropped out
41	34	Continuing in independent school
33	27	Graduated from independent school and attending college

Thus during the boys' third year in the program a number of changes had occurred (as will be seen from comparison with the similar table at the beginning of the chapter). An additional 5 boys had dropped out of preparatory school and 26 had graduated from school and begun college. Thus the totals at the beginning of the fourth year were: 21 boys dropped from program (26%), 34 boys continuing in independent school (41%), and 27 graduated from independent school and admitted to college (33%).

The additional 5 boys who dropped out of independent school during their third year left for various reasons: 2 for poor academic work (1 low motivation and 1 low ability); 2 for emotional conflicts and poor social adjustment; and 1 because of family conflicts and parental desire that he return home. All these individuals were already included among the students noted as having considerable difficulties in the two-year follow-up study. These additional drop-outs in the third year brought the total attrition over three years to one-quarter of the entering group of students (26%).

By this point at the beginning of the fourth year, one-third (33%) of this group of ABC boys had graduated and been admitted to college. Appendix B, Table 4 lists the 20 different colleges that the 27 boys had entered. All were receiving scholarship aid from the colleges. As is evident from the list a wide range is represented in terms of selectivity, but it seems fair to say that most of the boys are attending colleges with reputations for good or superior educational programs. The placement of a few boys with poorer records was problematic and it was uncertain for a time as to whether they would be accepted to a college with the necessary scholarship aid. However, the majority of the boys encountered no problems in being accepted to an appropriate college with adequate scholarship funds. It is the writer's opinion that the majority of the boys entered schools appropriate to their abilities where they could be expected to do reasonably well. Perhaps a few boys were at colleges where they might have difficulties in handling the level of work, but generally the "fit" seems good. (It is unfortunate that the curtailment of research funds has made it impossible to follow the early college careers of the students as was initially intended.)

Of course the full record is not yet completed, but up to this point it would seem that Project ABC can claim fair success for the academic accomplishments of its students. At the end of three years this sample of ABC boys showed a 26% attrition rate, with 41% continuing in preparatory school and 33% graduated preparatory school and beginning college.

CONCLUSIONS REGARDING ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE

In order to evaluate the academic performance of the ABC boys we have examined the data from a variety of sources including reports from the preparatory school staffs, reports from the boys themselves, and changes on intelligence and achievement tests. The findings were mixed: quite encouraging in some respects, but distinctly disappointing in others. Particularly there were some hard to reconcile discrepancies between the fairly general reports of gains by the staff and students and the absence of any clear gains on the educational tests.

The attrition rate was 20% at the time of the main two-year follow-up study and had risen to 26% at the end of three years. Academic difficulties were the predominant reason boys dropped out of the program - (though the role of other problems will be discussed in later chapters).

According to the faculty reports at the time of the two-year follow-up, the range of academic performance had run from complete failure to outstanding success. At that time, 20% had failing records, 7% near failing, 54% average, and 19% very good or outstanding. The reported academic potential of the ABC boys showed a wide range: about a quarter were seen as having very low abilities, while the rest had adequate or better abilities. About a quarter were reported as having serious motivational deficiencies, but the rest were seen as having average or high motivation. On the basis of the faculty reports of academic changes over the two-year period, the ABC boys were classified as: 26% consistently "POOR", 11% definite "DECLINE", 9% generally "MEDIOCRE", 30% definite "GAINS", and 24% consistently "GOOD". Thus it was reported by the faculty that there was a substantial group of boys who showed definite improvement (about one-third), and that for about one-half of the boys the program was clearly beneficial academically. About 75% of the boys were seen as having average or good potential for further education at the college level. Despite the definite academic failures of some boys, generally the independent school staff members felt the program was academically beneficial for the majority of the ABC students.

Though again there were definite exceptions, according to the boys' reports the majority felt they had benefited academically. About 80% reported the academic work harder at the independent schools, and over half cited specific improvements in the level of work, amount of attention, and quality of teaching they received. About one-third of the boys were satisfied with their records and performance, while the other two-thirds had varying degrees of dissatisfaction. Major sources of difficulty reported were inadequate prior background, lack of ability, poor study habits, and low motivation. It was felt by 64% that their work was always satisfactory or had definitely improved, while 36% felt that their work was always poor or had gotten worse. For those who reported their work as declining (21%) the reasons included lack of drive, poor study habits, demands beyond their abilities, and social adjustment problems. Thus while most ABC boys reported gains in their academic work, about one-fifth felt their work had declined. So while generally positive, there were negative reports from some boys regarding the academic results of the program.

The findings on two-year changes in intelligence and achievement test scores were disappointing. There was no significant change in mean Otis I.Q. score for the ABC boys. (Though the matched Control group of boys who applied but were not admitted to the program showed a very slight, yet statistically significant drop.) Also there were no marked changes on the Cooperative English Tests over the two years - some percentile scores went up slightly, some went down slightly. Perhaps it is a bit naive to expect changes in intelligence scores, but certainly it would seem reasonable to expect changes on English achievement tests scores considering the emphasis placed on these basic skills in the summer program and in the independent schools. Perhaps significant academic gains occurred in other aspects not measured by the tests, but at any rate there were no marked changes on these achievement tests. (Incidently, the initial scores on these tests were significantly correlated with academic performance as will be shown in Chapter 8). Certainly one conclusion is that this, and probably other, programs of compensatory education for older disadvantaged students should be modest in their expectations and claims regarding gains in basic scholastic abilities and skills.

As reported, three years after they entered the program: 26% had dropped out of independent school (though most resumed at their home schools as will be seen), 41% were continuing in independent school, and 33% had entered college. Unfortunately gathering records on the Control group proved so difficult, and the returns were so incomplete, that meaningful comparison of the college admission records of the two groups proved impossible. Thus we cannot say with certainty that the ABC boys fared better in college admissions than they would if they had remained at home. However, it is probable that applying to college with the advice, aid, resources, and experience of the independent schools should make a substantial difference. Up to this point, the ABC boys who graduated from independent schools have been admitted to college with scholarship aid.

In conclusion, the findings regarding the academic accomplishments of Project ABC are somewhat equivocal. According to the reports of the school staffs and the ABC boys themselves in the majority of cases there were some definite gains, - however, for some boys little or nothing had appeared to be accomplished. The standardized educational tests offered no concrete evidence to substantiate widespread general gains and rather indicated no great changes. Indeed it seemed as though maintenance of the initial level of student performance was the general rule - boys who began poor remained unimproved and boys who began good maintained their level in most cases. Unfortunately educational miracles are rare. Thus it is not possible to state with absolute assurance and in an unqualified fashion exactly what Project ABC accomplished educationally for these boys. We have examined the various pieces of evidence and find some that indicates that for many boys there were real and important gains, for others the effects were minimal or even detrimental. One thing certain was that despite the absence of objective evidence of gains that we desire, in over half the cases both staff and students felt there had been definite educational benefit.

CHAPTER 6

SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

Another major question in the evaluation of Project ABC concerned the personal and social adjustment of the boys whose lives were affected. The change in their social environment was dramatic. The boys had come from economically disadvantaged situations. The milieu of their lives had been poverty whether in urban slums or depressed rural areas. Though most of the ABC boys were definitely striving and upwardly mobile, the vast majority of their contemporaries at home probably did not have such aspirations and certainly little realistic hope of advancement. While many boys in Project ABC though poor appeared to have come from reasonably stable lower middle class neighborhoods, clearly substantial numbers came from areas that were predominantly lower class and widely recognized as problems because of their high rates of poverty, unemployment, educational failure, blighted living conditions and, in many cases, delinquency, crime and drug addiction. The discussion in Chapter 3 on the background characteristics of the students indicated the poverty of their families and in many cases the social disorganization of their home communities. We also discussed the respects in which the ABC boys appeared to be atypical in their communities because of their high aspirations, achievement, drive, and abilities. It is, of course, incorrect to overgeneralize regarding the characteristics of the disadvantaged, for people in any group are widely divergent. However, the core problems and some of the general characteristics of the economically depressed and culturally disadvantaged have been compellingly documented by numerous reports and accounts in recent years. (Clark, 1965; Coleman, et. al., 1966; Conant, 1961; Harrington, 1962; Passo, 1963, 1967; Riesman, 1962; Silberman, 1964; and many others) The ABC boys predominantly came from such backgrounds of poverty and hardship.

From these backgrounds they entered a very different world where the opportunities and expectationsthat come with affluence abound. Again it would be incorrect to overgeneralize about the nature of the independent schools and the social background characteristics of the students attending them. The schools are diverse in their traditions and character and have of variety of students. Some of the independent schools clearly are in the classic tradition of the small, select, church affiliated, boarding school with long distinguished histories and aristocratic reputations. Others are newer and more diverse in educational curriculum and social character. It would be incorrect to regard the schools as being of just one type or even a limited range of types. However, despite the diversity in the independent schools attended by the ABC boys some generalizations can appropriately be made. Though there are other scholarship students attending these schools, in some cases in substantial numbers, predominantly the students at these schools have come from affluent upper middle class and upper class backgrounds. The students generally come from urban and suburban well-to-do White families. The fathers of most are college educated and successful professional and businessmen. While great wealth may only characterize the backgrounds of a minority of the boys, it is in many of the schools a substantial and influential minority. Certainly most of the students have not known other than material well-being and its attendant privileges. While it would be unfair to characterize the independent schools as citadels of snobbery, it would be unrealistic not to recognize that social status plays a significant role in the recruitment of their clientel. For some families the independent school is a "natural" and expected pattern in their educational and social lives because of family and community tradition. For other families it represents more the confirmation of newly achieved status and a means to its enhancement. While the excellent educational values and "character building" aims of the independent schools are major and undeniable assets in recruitment of students and their families, these should not cause us to overlook the role of social status benefits. In short, there are a variety of features that have led to the establishment and continuation of independent schools in the United States. (Informative accounts of the role of independent preparatory schools in the American class and status system are found in Amory, 1947; Baltzell, 1962, pp. 327-371; and Mills 1956, pp. 62-68). Because of the educational and social advantages of the independent school training they have frequently served as routes to positions of opportunity, advancement and responsibility. The schools take pride in the quality of their educational programs and records in later life of their graduates.

Bringing students from disadvantaged backgrounds to such a different social environment is an undertaking that necessarily gives aware and thoughtful people concern. All those associated with the ABC enterprise had some apprehension as to its results. Would such a transition genuinely benefit these boys or would it cause severe problems? To answer these questions it was necessary to attempt to objectively evaluate and candidly report on the social adjustment of the ABC students in their new environments.

This chapter will follow an organization similar to the preceding one. First we will explain the development of an overall rating of social adjustment based on all available information. Then we will examine in more detail the reports of the faculty regarding the social adjustment of the ABC students both in overall percentages and with citation of particular examples. Finally we will see what the students themselves had to say regarding their social adjustment at the independent schools both with respect to overall percentages and some of the representative experiences they reported.

TWO-YEAR SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT TO THE PROGRAM: DEVELOPMENT OF CRITERION RATING

The last chapter reported the development of three criterion ratings of 1) Overall Academic Performance, 2) Academic Potential, and 3) Academic Motivation. We will now report the development of a fourth criterion rating 4) Social Adjustment both for the purpose of summarizing overall the information gathered regarding how the students adjusted to the program and for use in subsequent data analysis in later chapters.

It will be recalled that of the 82 students who entered the ABC program the first summer, 8 students (10%) only attended the summer program while 74 (90%) of the students attended independent school for one year or more. For the 10% who dropped out early the judgments of social adjustment will be based predominantly on their behavior during the first summer. For the other 90% of the boys the social adjustment rating will be based on the detailed information we have from their independent school faculty and from the boys themselves. The information comes from the same detailed interviews that formed the basis for the academic ratings in the last chapter.

SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT RATING. In developing the social adjustment rating, the concern was to represent as accurately as possible the personal and social adjustment of each boy to the ABC program and particularly to his independent school. The desire was to reflect whether the transition and adjustment to the program and the school had been relatively difficult or easy. At the low end of the scale were placed all those students who had dropped out of the program predominantly because of very serious problems in social adjustment. At the high end were placed those students who had adjusted easily to the program and the schools, who gave no evidence of serious difficulties, and in fact were unusually successful in adapting and had emerged as outstanding members of their school communities. In the case of the previous three academic ratings the judgments were based entirely on the faculty reports, while the academic classification groups used both faculty reports and the students' own reports. The development of this "Criterion Rating 4. SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT" was based both on the faculty reports and the students own reports. In most cases the two sources of information were in good agreement. Occasionally there was some divergence, and in such cases what appeared the most accurate report was made the primary basis for the rating. For example, there were cases where the staff members at the independent school felt that a boy's adjustment had been relatively easy, but the boy himself reported adjustment difficulties and upsetting experiences of which the staff was unaware. Also there were cases in which the student was either unaware or did not report how marginal he was in the social life of the school or unpopular he might be among his classmates. Generally there were not great discrepancies between the two reports; but when there were, the writer generally chose to accept the more unfavorable report as more accurate on the principle that human beings are prone to deny and ignore unpleasant events. Usually the reports agreed very well, but it should be observed that the faculty seemed more sanguine about student adjustment than did the boys themselves. Occasionally there were private hurts and injuries that the students were willing to reveal to a sympathetic but somewhat removed interviewer that apparently they had not expressed to the staff members at their school. On the whole, however, it would seem that the school staffs were well aware of the successes and difficulties of the boys and knew them well.

As with other aspects of the ABC program that we have examined, again we find a wide range of success. On the basis of all the available information the following distribution of social adjustment ratings was made:

SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT — TWO-YEAR RECORD — "Criterion Rating 4"

%	N	Rating
15	12	(7) Outstanding, unusually fine social adjustment
15	12	(6) Very good, no problems evident, doing very well
18	15	(5) Quite good, no serious problems evident, doing quite well
21	17	(4) Mixed, minor problems, generally "O.K."
15	12	(3) Difficult, definite major problems
5	4	(2) Very difficult, serious and continuing problems
12	10	(1) Drop-out because of serious social adjustment problems
100	82	

For 12% of the boys serious social adjustment problems were the main or a major factor in their dropping out of the program. For another 5% of the boys the social adjustment had been very difficult and there were continuing serious problems in their adjustment. For another 15% the social adjustment had been difficult and there had been definite major problems but they had appeared to lessen with time. Thus it would appear that about 30% of the boys did experience some major problems and found the social transition definitely hard. The other 70% had, according to their reports and those of the faculty, not encountered major problems in the transition. About 30% of the students had made a very good or outstanding adjustment.

This "Criterion Rating 4. SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT" will be used in data analysis of correlates of social adjustment to be reported in Chapter 8. In most of those correlational analyses the 7-point rating will be used as the criterion of social adjustment. However, in certain analyses where contingency tables are employed the 7 rating categories will be reduced to 3 groups for the presentation of tables and tests for association. In these cases ratings 1, 2, and 3 will be combined as "POOR" covering cases where there were definite major problems; ratings 4 and 5 will be combined as "AVERAGE" where the adjustment has been satisfactory and the problems minor; and ratings 6 and 7 will be combined as "GOOD" indicating cases where no problems were evident and the social adjustment seemed unusually good. This combining of categories will be done only where contingency tables were used; otherwise the 7-point scale will be empoyed for correlational analysis.

In all, then, it appeared that the social adjustment proved difficult with major problems for about 30% of the boys, satisfactory with no great problems for about 40% and very good or excellent for about 30%. We will now examine the kinds of adjustment difficulties reported.

INDEPENDENT SCHOOL FACULTY REPORTS CONCERNING SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

The staff reports we are now to examine covered all the 74 boys who attended preparatory schools (66 continuing and 8 drop-outs). The questions concerning the boys' social adjustment are included in Appendix D. Interview Schedule 2. (For convenience in presentation we will reorder the sequence of topics.)

OVERALL STATISTICS. The independent school staff members were asked whether the student had found it hard or easy to adjust and what had been his biggest problems (question 39). The distribution of responses regarding social adjustment to school for those boys who had attended preparatory schools was as follows:

19%	Very easy, no problems evident
34%	Easy, never any serious problems evident
20%	Mixed, evidence of some minor problems
18%	Difficult, definite major problems
5%	Very difficult, serious and continuing problems
4%	Dropped out because of serious adjustment problems

For the entire group the nature of serious adjustment problems cited was as follows (percentages add to more than 100 because of multiple problems in some cases):

73%	No serious problems cited
14%	Serious academic problems, lack of ability affected adjustment
14%	Serious academic problems, lack of study discipline affected adjustment
11%	Serious problems because of confinement and restrictions of preparatory school life
11%	Serious problems in adjustment due to peer group values
11%	Serious personal and psychological problems, i.e. conflicts, tensions, apathy, withdrawal, effeminacy, immaturity
7%	Serious family problems, financial, conflicts at home, pressures, or homesickness
7%	Serious disciplinary problems, definite infractions of rules
5%	Serious racial problems, prejudice encountered
3%	Social class differences, discrepancy in life styles

According to the staff reports about three-quarters of the boys had no really serious problems. Among those students who did have problems, academic difficulties seemed to predominate in causing adjustment difficulties. However, for some students other serious difficulties played a major role in adjustment problems including personal psychological difficulties, poor adjustment to peer group standards, restrictions of school life, and racial and social prejudice.

For many students the location of the school was very different from what they had been accustomed to. Many were from urban areas and the transition to the country atmosphere of some of the schools was great. Also many of the schools were isolated and had various restrictions either by circumstances or policy on the social lives of the students. The independent school staff were asked whether these factors of location or restrictions had produced any evident problems for the

ABC students. The responses to the questions regarding problems produced by school setting and environment showed the following distribution:

4%	Not applicable (living at home)
73%	None evident
5%	Some slight adjustment problems in the beginning
5%	Some occasional "normal" complaints
3%	Continuing dissatisfaction about facilities and location
3%	Continuing dissatisfaction about restrictions
5%	Great and continuing dissatisfaction in almost all respects

Again according to the staff reports about three-quarters of the students appeared to have made a good adjustment to the school as far as its location and facilities. A few had had some complaints and a small minority continued actively dissatisfied in this regard.

The independent school staff members were asked how the student got along generally with the boys in his dormitory and in the school, whether he was popular or disliked, and the reasons. The answers regarding relationship to other boys in the school were:

23%	Gets along very well, outstandingly popular and liked
30%	Gets along well, quite popular
16%	Gets along well, average
19%	Gets along but not especially popular, somewhat shy and withdrawn
12%	Does not get along, unpopular, disliked looked down upon

Thus most of the boys appeared to get along well or reasonably well but about 10% were unpopular or actively disliked by their peers. The reasons cited for popularity and respect showed the following distribution (percentages add to more than 100):

31%	None mentioned (not especially popular)
43%	Cooperative, helpful, nice guy
46%	Congenial, good sense of humor
23%	Athletic accomplishments
15%	Academic accomplishments
12%	Leadership, drive and activity

The reasons for unpopularity reported were:

78%	Not applicable (is liked and popular)
14%	Reserved, aloof, withdrawn
7%	Annoying personal habits, sloppy, messy
5%	Immature, childish
5%	Passivity, laziness, sloth
4%	Sullenness, hostility
3%	Aggressiveness, hot temper
3%	Softness, weakness
3%	Dullness, slowness

It therefore appears that the great majority of the students were well liked and had characteristics that made them attractive to their peers. Some of the boys tended to be somewhat withdrawn socially and a very few were actively disliked by their classmates.

The staff members were asked how the boy himself seemed to fit in, whether he seemed to feel he belonged or acted more like an outsider. This question as to the estimate of the ABC boys own feeling of acceptance at the school showed the following distribution:

55%	Feels well accepted, definitely belongs
10%	Satisfactory adjustment, slightly aware of differences but feels accepted
19%	Fair adjustment, belongs but somewhat a "loner"
8%	Uneasy adjustment, doesn't quite belong and/or feels rejected
8%	Very poor adjustment, actively refuses to belong, a problem

Again according to these faculty reports, it appears that most of the students appeared to feel they fitted in well and belonged at their school; but for some boys adjustment was poor and they either felt they did not belong or rejected the school.

The faculty members were also asked whether the ABC boys had appeared to make close personal friends among the students and whether their friends were of a particular type. The distribution on the question of close personal friends was:

30%	Apparently no close personal friends
49%	Broad range of friends, includes wide variety of types
12%	Restricted, mainly Negroes or ABC boys
5%	Restricted, mainly "play boys", carefree, not good students
4%	Restricted, mainly achievement oriented ones

Thus about half of the ABC boys were reported to mix widely with their classmates but about a third tended to be "loners" and a small group seemed to mix primarily with other ABC students.

We were concerned with any discriminatory or racial incidents that might have occurred involving ABC students. We asked the faculty members whether they knew from any source of prejudice or discrimination encountered by ABC students at the independent school. According to the school staffs, for the entire group of boys, the reported racial incidents or discrimination at the school were:

79%	No incidents reported, no complaints
4%	No incidents cited but some minor complaints from ABC boys
1%	No incidents cited but some minor reports from other boys
12%	Some minor incidents, ABC students slightly upset but nothing serious
3%	Some serious incidents, very upset

In most cases the faculty reported they were unaware of any racial incidents or discrimination involving the boys. Examples of some of those instances cited will be given shortly when we examine representative statements from the faculty. However, as we shall see later in the chapter, the ABC students themselves indicated they had encountered considerably more prejudice than would be suggested by the staff reports.

We were also interested in the ABC students rooming arrangements at the independent schools. The reports on rooming arrangements and roommate's background were as follows:

4%	Not applicable (living at home)
26%	None, all or most rooms are singles
12%	None, boy requested a single room
38%	White upper-class or upper middle class roommate
3%	White scholarship student roommate
4%	Non-White upper class or upper middle class roommate
3%	Non-White scholarship student roommate
5%	Another ABC boy by their own choice
4%	Another ABC boy assigned by school

Thus there were a variety of rooming arrangements and no particular pattern predominated. According to the staff reports the great majority of boys who had roommates got along very well with them. There were just a few reports of tension or disagreement with roommates.

Questions were asked regarding the ABC boys participation in social activities, dances, dating, and the like. The reports of the ABC students' social activities were as follows:

30%	Very active, attends all or almost all events
5%	Quite active, attends most social events
11%	Somewhat active, attends occasional events
18%	Not active, has attended very few social events
32%	Not active, so far as known has not attended any events
4%	Don't know

Thus the ABC group seemed rather split with respect to social participation. About one-third were highly active socially and took in most events while about 50% took in a few or no events. The reasons cited for low social participation were as follows:

46%	Not applicable, does attend
27%	Indifferent to them, too young
15%	Few activities available to his school class
12%	Shyness and insecurity
8%	Racial reasons, color problems, no Negro girls attending
4%	Financial reasons, cannot afford dating expenses
1%	Social class reasons, uncomfortable, feels out of place socially
1%	More concerned with studies

According to the staff reports, the status of ABC boys with respect to dating and dating problems was as follows:

24%	Very active, many dates, apparently no problems
23%	Moderately active, occasional dates, apparently no problems
38%	No dates, not interested, too young to be a problem
4%	Unsatisfactory, race seems to be a problem
5%	Unsatisfactory, personal difficulties hinder him
5%	Don't know or no answer

In considering all of these figures it should be recognized that many of the students were still quite young, the majority being 15 or 16 years old. Evidently a number had little interest in dating as yet. However, some students were hindered by lack of opportunity at their schools. Some students were very active socially. Obviously students at coeducational schools or with nearby girl schools had more opportunity.

Questions were also asked regarding sports and extracurricular activities. Almost all of the independent schools had very full athletic programs with required participation in sports in all seasons. About 45% of the ABC boys were regarded as good or excellent athletes, 30% average, and 25% poor. In about 80% of the cases it was thought that participation in athletics had helped the boy's adjustment at school, either by helping him gain recognition and acceptance among his peers or providing an outlet for tensions or pressures. Less than 10% of the boys were reported to have reacted poorly to the athletic program. With respect to extracurricular activities and clubs about 30% of the students were reported inactive, 55% moderately active, and 15% very active. A wide range of activities were represented. With respect to student leadership, 7% were reported to have held major class offices, 19% held offices in various activities or responsible positions in their dormitories, and 74% held no elective student offices.

According to the staff reports about half the boys did not appear to have formed any particularly close relationships with their teachers or other members of the staff, but about 35% were seen as having definitely formed some close and meaningful relationships.

We were concerned with whether financial problems had appeared to be difficult for the ABC students. It was reported that lack of money, clothes, or other necessities did not appear to have been a problem for 75% of the boys because of scholarship aid. For the other 25% it appeared to have been a problem in varying degrees. For 10% financial pressures had seemed particularly difficult. Most of the faculty members felt that they could not judge how the students felt about being on scholarship at their schools, so we will wait until we have the boys' reports before considering this matter.

The faculty members were also asked whether they were aware of any difficulties or problems the ABC students appeared to have in adjusting from school to home and back again. These reports on apparent difficulties or problems adjusting from school to home and back again were as follows:

58%	No evident difficulties, appears to adjust easily both ways
14%	Perhaps slight difficulties
11%	Difficult to return to school
10%	Difficult to return home
4%	A difficult transition both ways
4%	Don't know

Thus for most students the transition did not appear too hard. However, there were many cases in which the faculty was clearly aware of the problems. The staff members were also asked how the ABC boys as disadvantaged students related to their origins and whether they appeared to have "identity" problems. According to these reports the reactions of the ABC boys fell in the following categories:

24%	No evident problems, rather doing a fine job relating past and present life, handling it well
51%	No evident problems, appears all right
7%	Mild conflict, fighting the school
4%	Mild conflict, rejecting home
7%	Strong conflict, fighting school
4%	Marked conflict, strong ambivalence to both school and home
3%	Don't know, cannot tell

In three-quarters of the cases, then, the faculty members felt that the students did not appear to have any marked identity problems. The other quarter of the students had varying degrees of conflict and ambivalence. Again the faculty reports make it appear that the majority of the students have made a good adjustment.

We have now examined the general statistics on a large number of questions concerning the ABC students' adjustment to independent school as reported by the faculty. On the basis of these reports it appears that about three-quarters of the boys made the transition and adjustment to the independent schools without great difficulties. On a variety of questions regarding adjustment three-quarters of the boys were reported as doing quite well or very well, and only one-quarter regularly appeared to be having particular problems of any consequence. As shortly will be seen when we examine the students own reports these figures are generally supported fairly well, though the students do report somewhat higher rates on certain problems and difficulties. However, it is quite clear that in the view of the independent school staffs the majority of the ABC students made satisfactory or good social adjustments. A relatively small, yet significant number (about a quarter), appeared to be having definite difficulties in social adjustment. In some cases these problems were very severe. We will now look at some representative comments made that reflect both the difficulties of adjustment and success in making this transition.

REPRESENTATIVE COMMENTS. From the data we have reviewed it is clear that those students with marked social adjustment difficulties were a minority. Difficulties in social adjustment were particularly prevalent among students who dropped out of the program. In some cases difficulties in social adjustment were the primary reason for a student leaving independent school, but in most cases where a student dropped out there was a history of both great academic difficulty and poor social adjustment. A full discussion of the drop-out students will be presented in Chapter 9. For the present, we will look at comments made concerning drop-out boys where social adjustment problems were combined with academic difficulties, and then some where the social adjustment difficulties seemed the major factor in a students leaving the program. Then we will examine the reports on some boys who were continuing in the program with adjustment difficulties. Finally we will look at some boys who were doing well.

A drop-out student, a southern Negro whose academic work was very poor because of poor study skills, slowness, and lack of motivation, had the following comments made by his dean and by his faculty advisor:

> "He seemed to like the location and surrounding community but as a southerner he found the weather hard. He thought it was winter even before Thanksgiving arrived... He probably was uncomfortable in his dormitory. His room was a sanctuary but he wouldn't loosen up even there. All the boys have singles. He was withdrawn in the dormitory and did not mix. They had to come to him, to seek him out. Some students tried all year, but most tried in the beginning and then gave up.
>
> "There were some pranks in the dormitory; like his laundry being mixed up. It was not clear if it was deliberately aimed toward him or just general horseplay. But there were no big incidents. He was always an outsider and couldn't let himself go and join in. He really stood apart. I don't think he had any friends, certainly not any close ones. He'd be around one boy or another for a few weeks but there was nothing lasting. He generally walked alone on the campus...I doubt he took in any dances and activities. His social life was minimal.
>
> "He didn't ever adjust here. He had an emotional tightness and constriction. He seemed naive and there was a real lack of verbal communication. He just couldn't come out. He seemed to have a general continuing tension.
>
> "None of the staff could relate to him. He just wouldn't take the bait. No one touched him...
>
> "We were disappointed that he didn't open up. But it didn't seem the experience was too disturbing to him. He just seemed not to be touched by it. He came back for a few days at the beginning of the second year and then said let's call it quits. It was his own decision. It came as a complete surprise to us, we thought he was already to go for another year but he said he felt there was no reason to be here, that he didn't need a college education for what he wanted to do. He seemed very unaware. He saw no gains in changing and didn't want to make an effort to change. School was just a chore. The

> tension was that people wanted him to change but he just couldn't see the reason to do it." (Case 011)

As a group the American Indian boys had the greatest social adjustment problems. These were particularly marked in the case of boys who had grown up on isolated reservations where traditional Indian culture was strongest, where contact with the dominant majority culture was small, and where educational opportunities were limited. The transition for some of these boys was extraordinarily difficult. Occasionally a student would leave his reservation for the first time in his life and turn back at the first large city he encountered before he ever arrived at Hanover for the beginning of the ABC summer program. Even with Dartmouth's semi-rural setting the transition to the Eastern U.S. and contact with members from other groups was a great strain for many of these boys. They reported themselves practically overcome by the many buildings and hemmed in by all the trees. Their environmental shock was the obverse of the Easterner encountering the vast western plains for the first time and who is overwhelmed by their magnitude. Also they encountered boys from other racial and ethnic backgrounds and a highly demanding academic program which was very different from the work to which they had been accustomed. In the ABC program at Dartmouth there were at least some other Indian boys present which gave them some sense of common identity, even though they came from different tribes. However, when these boys went on to independent school they were usually the sole representative of their race. Because of their uniqueness and the romanticized but ambivalent attitudes of the larger society regarding the American Indian they felt themselves regarded as exotic curiosities. This was hard for some of the boys. Also in a few cases the Indian boys themselves shared some of the prejudiced attitudes of White society toward Negroes and were dismayed to find themselves in the ABC setting where the majority of their fellow students were Negro. In a few cases the writer learned this from the boys themselves, and in other cases heard of it from informants in the boy's home communities. Some of the Indian boys did make very good adjustments to their school but for most it was a hard transition. To give some sense of the problem we cite the comments of the dean of students at an independent school where one of the American Indian boys dropped out after his first year:

> "Coming here was a shock for him. He was like a scared deer, very unsure and homesick. Academically he was put a year back and if he returned we would have had to have him repeat courses, so it would have been his third year as a sophomore. There was a slight academic improvement but not as much as we hoped for. He had a very bad educational background and a great lack of academic motivation. We have had a problem with Indian boys. It seems you have to pick the most promising because many have difficulty with the English language.
>
> "Sports did help him some. He looked forward to it, to the exercise and being out of doors. He was caged in the classroom.
>
> "He was very homesick, extremely so, he missed the reservation and freedom. The kids all liked him. He

> was an average boy in popularity, pleasant but reticent. He did fit in some, but generally he didn't seem to want to get involved. He never was in the bull sessions but was apart and aloof and a bit of an outsider. He was withdrawn and shy.
>
> "His adjustment here was very hard. The main problem was his academic work which was severe. He was really down, morose, and really quite depressed and discouraged. He was homesick for a half year at least. I understand he had to be pushed on the plane to return after Christmas vacation. He loved his country and was very proud of his family and loved them dearly. He was proud of his Indian heritage and liked to talk of the customs and of horses. He always wanted to be a rancher like his father and really didn't know where all this would lead. There was such a contrast, he had been used to a more carefree life and was not used to a lot of people. He decided he didn't want to come back as a sophomore for the third year in a row. He had gotten to like the school somewhat better and did try to face up to the challenge, but it was just too much. It was his and his family's decision that he not return." (Case 062)

There were some drop-out cases that mystified the schools. These were cases of boys who had no academic difficulties, they were doing satisfactorily or well and appeared to have made quite a good social adjustment. Yet they withdrew from the school without giving what the staff members felt was an adequate explanation. There were not many cases like this but there were a few. One northern Negro student who sithdrew shortly after returning to begin his second year had had an A record near the top of his class and was an outstanding athlete:

> "On the surface everything looked very easy and no problems were apparent yet there must have been some problem. Sometimes it looked like he was over conforming and trying to be something else. He claimed that ABC misrepresented prep school life and made it seem more liberal and easygoing than it was. He felt the school was too structured. I wonder if he thought the pressure of the school was too much on him and that he had to act as a White man. I don't know.
>
> "He left on his own decision. He was in good standing, many of the faculty and students and the headmaster urged him to stay. The reasons he gave for leaving were that he did not feel free to be himself and was not able to communicate with the other boys. He said he did not like the required sports and that he had a girl at home. I don't know what the real reason was. A minor thing that bothered him was the feeling he couldn't or wouldn't refrain from smoking as he was expected to. He felt he could do as well in preparation for college at his home high school.

> I wonder if it was partly the influence of friends at home that made him go back." (Case 026)

From this boy and others with similar reactions we will shortly learn some of the reasons for his leaving.

Some students still in independent schools had various continuing problems. Often because of their personal characteristics they found it difficult to relate successfully to their peers. A southern Negro whose academic work was very good, but who had done little in sports and school activities, was having a very difficult time in adjusting socially to the school:

> "He seems to enjoy the location except for the climate. He complains that it is too cold. He is in a small dormitory and many times has been a scapegoat of the boys. He seems to bring it upon himself. The first year he had conflict with his roommate and bothered the other boys. There are complaints that he doesn't wash and is sloppy. The boys' complaints are exaggerated, but he has this reputation. Fortunately it has lessened some. He is a loner, isolated and inactive. Some of the boys dislike him and there are some bigots here. Most of the bigots are behind-the-back types but he probably has felt it. There has been no big incident. He is an outsider and seems to want to stand out. Often he tries to set himself apart and wear outlandish costumes. Sometimes he wears a bandana or stocking to straighten his hair.
>
> "...He never dates and is probably scared of girls. Perhaps he is worried about what would happen if he was paired with a White girl at a dance.
>
> "His adjustment has been hard. He has tried to stand out as not adjusting. When he couldn't fit in easily at first he tended to go the other way and wear outlandish clothes and play a southern Negro role. Now he's getting more interested in sports and may be able to adjust. There have been no really big crises but he was very unhappy his first year.
>
> "He is close to his history teacher who is a bit outlandish too and likes him. The teacher is active in civil rights... Sometimes I feel he plays the stereotyped southern Negro role too much, but he is fortunate in not trying to become a White. He knows who he is. There may be some identity problem but probably not a big one.
>
> "I do wish he was neater in his work and personal habits. He always looks like he has come from a 30 hour train trip. Also he is too defenseless and weak with the boys. But he is more talkative, he is neater, and is getting along better. He hasn't lost his identity, he is getting obvious educational advantages and he is

> getting exposed to a White community. He may not have adjusted fully to it but he has lost some of his provinciality." (Case 022)

It should be noted that this boy had been, to some degree, the butt of his classmates during his first summer at Project ABC because of his sloppiness, helplessness, and effeminacy. However, he had already come a long way and did have many positive qualities too. Though this student was one of the weakest boys and unpopular with his peers, there were other boys who also had similar adjustment difficulties because of their helplessness or immaturity. Peer group pressures were very hard on boys who had not the resiliency or strength to cope with an adolescent male environment away from home.

Boys who were retarded in their physical and social development also experienced considerable difficulties with and rejection from their peers. There were a few boys who were generally "out of it" as far as their peers were concerned and who appeared relatively insensitive to their problems. As yet they had shown little capacity to change and make a satisfactory social adjustment. However, it is possible that maturation and greater social experience may make up for some of these developmental lags.

The social adjustment of other students had shown considerable improvement during their first two years at independent school. These boys had initial difficulties and perhaps even some continuing problems but the general direction had been one of consistent improvement. One of the students, a Negro, was regarded during the summer program as an able boy who had never settled down and disciplined himself because of his capacity to capitalize on his attractive appearance and personal charm. He had proved frustrating to his teachers during the first summer. This pattern continued for a considerable period at independent school but seemed to be gradually improving. His faculty advisor and history teacher there reported:

> "Last year we were not pleased with him but this year we are. Last year he couldn't get motivated and settle down and we had to put him on probation. But since the beginning of this year he has responded well. This year there has been marked improvement, he is settling down and really working. Last year many of the faculty did not want him to return; in fact there was a seven to six vote in a faculty meeting last spring. But this year we have been very pleased and surprised. There has been improvement in all respects, both in academic work and in generally getting along.
>
> "His athletics help a great deal. He was able to achieve right from the start there and gained respect. He didn't get along well in the dormitory: he liked the companionship but resented authority. He hated the prefects and had a lot of problems with them. He was continually late, hated to clean up his room, and resented any peer authority. Last year there were continual complaints about him not cleaning up his room. It was a constant source of irritation.

> He received a lot of discipline reports; last year he received more reports than any boy in the school. His prefect had real problems with him. He can be a very irritating boy and was constantly late and had run-ins every few weeks. He gets along very well with the boys this year but last year he did not get along well at all. Last year one of the boys called him a 'nigger' and there was a fight, but otherwise I don't know of any racial problems.
>
> "His adjustment was hard last year and there were major problems with discipline, abiding by the rules and regulations, and his academic motivation. He seemed to have a chip on his shoulder. Now he seems a lot more mature. He's better able to cope with discipline. He's neater and more tidy. He's more organized, more motivated and serious. He has opened up considerably and is more communicative and talkative. He's far more at ease." (Case 039)

As the statistics presented earlier indicated according to the faculty reports for most ABC students the general adjustment was quite satisfactory. Rather than review the accounts of the many students whose adjustment was average or satisfactory from the beginning, we will look briefly at a few representative statements concerning boys whose social adjustment to independent schools was particularly outstanding. One of them, a Negro who had been having academic difficulties though he never failed any courses, was extremely popular and involved in the life of his school. His dean and a number of other faculty members reported:

> "He's active and interested in a number of musical and literary activities. He probably will be elected an officer in the Inter-faith Council. He's on the varsity soccer, track, and basketball teams. He has a lot of athletic ability and is improving though he is not outstanding. His athletics helped him here in giving him a sense of identity and commitment in the school.
>
> "He's very well liked and is respected by the boys. He is quite popular because of his humor, and way he handles himself and his responsibility...We don't know of any racial problems. It seems he feels accepted and genuinely is. He's a delightful boy with a good sense of humor. His closest friends are other OEO students and he is more with the Negro boys. That's more of his own selection, but he also mixes in very well with the others. He is involved in dances and planning them and usually takes them all in, 20 to 30 a year. Because this is a coed school there is lots doing and he has had a good social life. He's taken part in mixed dating with no racial problems evident.
>
> "He has adjusted well socially. It has looked like an easy adjustment, very positive and good from the beginning. There have been no big problems

> socially though the academic problems have been harder - but no major upsets.
>
> "This has been a very positive experience. Despite his difficulties with the work he has benefited. He is free and relaxed here and can objectively look at himself and his abilities." (Case 012)

Another student, who was discussed in the last chapter as one of the outstanding students academically was equally outstanding for his fine adjustment. His dean of students reported:

> "He has been elected to class committee by his fellow students as an officer. He is an organizer and has initiative and gets things done. He runs the dances for the class committee and likes them and participates fully. In fact, he's doing the best job that has ever been done in that office.
>
> "He's a member of the varsity soccer and hockey teams. He's energetic and well coordinated. The sports have helped him socially. He has won respect and gets to know the other boys.
>
> "He is outstandingly popular and respected in the dormitory and in the school because of his sensitivity to others. He likes to be helpful and is reasonable in his judgements. He really belongs here and is well accepted. We will be sad to see him go when he graduates because he is so good. His circle of friends is not narrowly confined. He has many friends of all different types. His adjustment certainly looks easy. I don't know how hard it may have been underneath but we have never seen any problems, none at all. He's a boys' boy, but he gets along well with the faculty too. He gets along well with the masters and can really talk freely. He's done as much as he can for his class and the whole school.
>
> "At first he was a little hesitant entering things and probably wondered how he would be received. He has been well received for his fine qualities. This has been a very good thing for him personally. It has been good for him to be here. The school has done a lot for him intellectually and socially. It gave him a good opportunity to see his own worth. It has given him responsibility and he has seen that he can handle it." (Case 067)

A Chinese boy was another outstanding contributer to the life of his school. His dean of students who had also taught him in class reported that though his academic work was only average it was showing improvement because of "sheer guts" and "hard work".

> "He is active in class and makes excellent contributions. He seeks out participation there

and attempts to bring it about and learns in this way. He is well received and even admired by his classmates. They give him great respect. His teachers are pleased with his hard work, honesty, and desire to learn. There is no sham about him, he's a very real person. He has an ability to follow through on ideas, like a bulldog. He's very mature and you can trust him. He's extraordinarily sensitive to situations and wants to help. He has both responsiveness and responsibility.

"Sometimes he's a bit reluctant to assert himself. He's not looking for glory or the limelight and is reluctant to be a leader, but he will meet a need where he sees it. He started an exchange program with a local high school in the slums. He felt that our boys here haven't had enough exposure to boys from poor neighborhoods. He took care of all the arrangements. He was remarkable in the degree of responsibility he showed; he handled it easily and maturely. He did a great job in all respects bringing outside boys here and taking our boys there. He has also been elected to the school honor society.

"He is an outstanding player on the varsity football team and is indominable.

"Sometimes he feels the school is a bit insular and he gets annoyed with boys who have opportunities and don't use them. He gets along very well here and is respected for his responsibility, trustworthiness, openness, and sincerety. He is accepted and knows it...His closest friends are Negro boys. He has even been elected to their 'Soul Society'. They stick together and have fun and comradeship in it. Yet he mixes well socially...He's had a good social life, lots of dating with all kinds of girls and no problems. It has been an amazingly smooth transition. He respects most people and makes ties. He is proud of his origins. He wants to communicate and bridge the gap between different groups and really implements it. He seems more worldly in a good sense and more aware now. He's more concerned about his environment and other people, I hope he stays this way. He seems a larger and more encompassing sort of personality and is more sure of himself. He's the type of person who can do well in a new environment and still relate it to his origins. He has gained as a person. He is a prime example of a boy that has really worked for ABC.

"We're disturbed about the cutbacks in OEO funds. A boy like this has added so much to our school. We've been hurt by the cutbacks and are sorry we won't be able to have as many like him." (Case 051)

A major concern in assessment of the adjustment of ABC boys to the independent school was racial problems and the boy's response to them. The history of racial integration at the various schools differed greatly. In some of the schools there was a fairly long history of attendance by Negroes and enrollment could be said to be well beyond mere "tokenism". In a few schools with large scholarship funds the per cent of non-White students was over 10%. But in most of the schools very few Negro students had been enrolled in the past and in many cases the ABC boys we are studying were the first or among the very first to attend. Therefore, we were concerned to know about the racial attitudes and prejudice these students might encounter and their response to it. Both the independent school staffs and the ABC students were asked a number of questions concerning this subject. We have already indicated that school staffs were aware of some problems encountered, but that generally their reports were that as far as they knew in most cases the students had not encountered great problems. We have already indicated that the boys' reports to be examined shortly indicated a higher incidence of problems. Here, however, we will summarize some of the faculty reports regarding such difficulties and also the behavior and responses of the Negro ABC students regarding racial matters and racial identity.

It will be recalled that in less than 20% of the cases the faculty members reported definite incidents of prejudice encountered by the ABC students. Most of the incidents reported seemed to be occasional situations where there had been an argument and epithets like "Nigger" were used, or occasions where a Negro student had overheard some White boys talking in a derrogatory way about Negroes. According to the faculty accounts there appeared to be little general and prolonged discrimination directed against a specific boy purely on racial grounds. (Though we have already reported instances where a boy was unpopular among his peers for other reasons and racial attitudes entered in to some degree.)

We will give some examples of the kind of specific problems and situations reported. A boy who was doing well academically and who was very active in many different organizations, a class officer, and captain of athletic teams, was reported to have had difficulties:

> "Last year there were a couple of [illegible] incidents, about four. Things like a slip of the tongue by a student he had thought to be a friend. He didn't seem particularly upset by it. But he was sufficiently upset to report it to us. This year there has not appeared to be much problem. It seems he is well accepted and knows it.
>
> "There are times he has been upset about school dances as have some other boys. Sometimes the dances with the girls' school have been a problem as whether to go or not to go. It has been very tricky and we had to handle it in various ways. But it has been not that difficult and there have been no big problems though there have been a few racial incidents that really were minor. Possibly he expected everyone to be color blind but they aren't. Sometimes I think the White students have learned more than the Negroes have about racial problems. Another Negro boy had said that this student

> had been too much of an 'Uncle Tom' and accepted White man's standards. But I don't think this has been a great issue for him and he has carried it very well." (Case 010)

Another student had encountered racial problems and prejudice. During his first summer at Dartmouth he appeared highly aware of racial attitudes and tensions and seemed to handle them well in an open and bantering manner. Some faculty had felt he perhaps overused this source of humor, but most felt he was a very aware boy who because of violent integration controversies in his home community had become very much concerned with prejudice and racial hostility and was direct and appropriate in dealing with it. At preparatory school, his dean and his advisor reported him outstandingly popular and respected. His social adjustment was excellent although his attention to academic work left something to be desired:

> "He is witty, bright, charming, and relates well to adults. He is sincere and personable, and trying to do a decent job though he could be doing a bit more academically. He is an exceptional boy in his personal characteristics and has made a fine social adjustment. He is energetic, fair, funny, and to be respected. He is a positive leader in his dormitory and outstandingly popular. He is one of the most popular boys we have in the school. He makes light of color and has a good nature. Yet he is proud, decent, honest, and respected.
>
> "There was one incident where a White boy told him he didn't like Negroes dating White girls, but he stood right up to him. He does date interracially and there has been a little friction at times. He has also dated Negro girls and generally there have been no big problems.
>
> "Maybe he does play the Negro entertainer role too much. Yet I don't think he has an identity problem. He is what he is. He handles it openly and well. It doesn't seem like much of a problem, he knows who he is and where he's going. Perhaps there is some slight over-compensation in his humor but generally things look good." (Case 076)

Dating did not appear to have produced many problems; mainly because the boys were young and not dating much. There were some reports of difficulties in arranging dances and pairing couples. Some schools tried to pair Negro ABC boys with Negro girls at arranged dances with girls' schools. Other schools paired couples just on the basis of height, chance, or whatever other criteria were customarily used with no attention to racial pairing. Usually this worked satisfactorily but on occasion there had been difficulties or incidents. In coeducational schools where social life and dating was easier, matters were left to work themselves out in the frequent classroom contacts and social activities. The case where the greatest concern was expressed involved A Negro boy at a coeducational school who was a solid B student and class officer:

> "He is dating a White girl - a pretty little blond. The girl's mother is concerned her daughter will get too emotionally involved. It is not an explosive situation, but certainly not a happy one. The mother is conflicted, she wants to be color blind but is worried. It is an intense and serious involvement with this girl. Her parents are social workers and feel they should be liberal but they are troubled. There is a strong physical contrast between the two. He's so black and she's all peaches and cream. They have been serious since Freshman year. From the first dance the attraction was very strong. In fact, a lot of people felt they went pretty far in their behavior and had an extreme public display of affection, so much so they had to be told to behave themselves. They are talking of marriage. We are concerned because they are so very young. Needless to say, there is some community curiosity. What do we condone? They have been carrying on and the racial aspects are obviously a factor.
>
> "He has handled racial problems well and does not have a chip on his shoulder. With this girl I don't think the attraction is primarily racial though perhaps it might be more so on her part. I think there is a genuine deep feeling between the two. Something is there or something would have happened by now. However, it is a painful situation and we are worried about it." (Case 038)

Generally what interracial dating there was was quite restricted and on a superficial level. However, as is evident from this case the possibility of deeper involvements posed potential problems which strained "liberal" and "enlightened" attitudes. The racist heritage of our society inevitably makes such situations conflictful and tests ideals of racial equality to the core.

In the private schools, as in colleges and universities, a widely reported trend was the heightening of cohesiveness and identification of the Negro students as a group as integration moved beyond mere "tokenism". So long as there were only very few Negro students in the enrollment they tended to be rather well "integrated" in the entire student body - there was no other alternative. However, as the relative proportion of Negro students increased there tended to be in many schools a process of "self-segregation" among the Black students. Negro students began to band together and form their own cliques. Undoubtedly this occurred because their shared background and common identity made them feel more "comfortable" together. At some schools this evolved into a strong group with its own norms and the development of a clear "Black" ideology like the phenomona on many college campuses in the '60's. The Negro students became very self-aware and concerned with problems of group identity. The responses of the school staff members were mixed. Many were genuinely dismayed and felt that this defeated the goals of integration and assimilation. Others felt it a natural and inevitable development within the present historical context. Most school administrators preferred to have Blacks rooming with Whites in the attempt to further intergroup contact and acceptance. But generally they have accepted the freedom of choice of the boys to select their own roommates in later years.

The development of Black identity and ideology has been a controversial matter during this decade and its full consequences have yet to be weighed (Lewis 1968, Pettigrew 1968). According to the school staff reports most ABC boys mixed well in their schools and found good acceptance, however, there has been a strong and increasing tendency as the number of Negro students grows for definite Black groups to emerge. One such group included a student doing fairly well academically and who had been elected a co-captain of a school team and who was popular among the student body. When asked about the boys closest friends a teacher reported:

> "He belongs to a tight group of Negro students that band together. There are about 4 Negro boys who are very close. It is a case of 'self-segregation' by their own choice. They are all able and popular. They don't take in many of the dances and social activities and it may be the color problem.
>
> "He has kept his identity. He knows who he is. He is the blackest of the bunch and is just natural. He is at ease and hasn't tried to conform particularly to preppy standards. He is just himself." (Case 025)

A different teacher talking about another Negro boy at the same school who also was doing well in his work and was popular and outstanding athleticly mentioned the same group:

> "It's really a Black quartet. They're all very dark. It is a positive choice, rather than a herding together through weakness, they do associate with others. They are all outstanding in one way or another, either academically or very fine and mature boys.
>
> "He doesn't seem to have an identity problem and gets along well. He's not militant but easy about it. He has a group of four very close pals, all Negro. Then there's also the larger group of Negro boys in the school, about 10% of our entire enrollment. They are both scholarship boys and others who come from professional families. There are getting to be a large number of Negroes here. The year before he came there were three boys, in his year there were six, now there are about seventeen. We now have some very articulate Negro boys. They were all whitewashed at first, now they are getting blacker and blacker. They are recognizing that they are Negro and there is nothing wrong with being Negro." (Case 019)

However, not all reports were as positive regarding the emergence of a self-consciously Black group. The dean of students at another school commented regarding a boy whom he felt had not been working up to **his** academic potential because of poor motivation, apathy, and carelessness:

> "He has emerged as a leader of the Negro boys. In the past the leaders of this group have been positive but he has been leader in a negative sense. He is critical of the school and doesn't like the regimentation of the hours and lack of social life. He's neither popular or unpopular but stays mainly with the other Negro boys. His general messy appearance works against him. His roommate last year complained that he was messy and dirty and he moved. There was one name calling situation and he got violent with a guy who called him a 'Nigger' or a 'Coon' and they got into a fight. He does seem to fight the Negro war more than the other boys. He has become the leader of a Negro clique, he is a fairly critical boy, and it has segregated itself as a group. He seems more sensitive than the others and is a bit more militant. He is more violent and forceful in expression of his attitudes. He tends to see things as color related and has a bit of a chip on his shoulder, but perhaps he trusts the world a little bit more now. He will level with me and give me straight answers." (Case 047)

There were additional instances where school staff members reported conflicts concerning racial identity and problems, but in most cases it was felt the ABC boys did not appear in great conflict and that they handled themselves well.

Overall, then, the faculty and staff reports at the independent schools were of satisfactory or good social adjustment. A small number of the ABC students were unable to make the adjustment to their new lives in the independent schools. But most had done reasonably well, and there were some unusually successful boys who appeared happy and productive members of their school communities.

ABC STUDENT REPORTS CONCERNING SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

As with the data on academic performance in the last chapter, the student reports on their social adjustment are based on interviews with 72 (65 continuing students and 7 drop-outs) out of the total group of 74 ABC boys who attended independent schools. Thus we have reports from almost all the boys, including those still attending and those who had dropped out of their schools. The questions asked are presented in Appendix D, Schedule 3. (For ease of presentation topics are rearranged.)

OVERALL STATISTICS. The first question asked was how the boy felt the summer ABC program at Dartmouth had prepared him for the transition to independent school. Overall, the boys' evaluation of the ABC summer program as a preparation for independent school was:

44%	Very positive
35%	Fairly positive
14%	Mixed or neutral
7%	Fairly negative
0%	Very negative

In the entire group of boys, the following aspects were cited as positive features of the summer program in preparing them for the transition:

78%	Academic preparation, improved skills and study habits
40%	Preparation for features of school life and regulations, dormitory rules, schedules and regulations
36%	Social aspects, living with boys, getting along with peers
11%	Introduction to sports, coaching

Some students expressed criticisms of aspects of the program or felt it was unnecessary for them. These critical comments regarding the summer ABC program were as follows:

6%	No actual need of program for him, felt it unnecessary
17%	Criticisms of aspects of academic work or teaching
11%	Summer program too regimented, strict, formal
4%	Summer program too lax in discipline, insufficiently regulated and strict
3%	Too much emphasis on out of doors activities, hikes, sports
3%	Not enough social activities

By-and-large, the students were positive regarding preparation they had received and felt it had helped them greatly. Most who had criticisms made them about features of the academic program: 14% felt the curriculum was narrow and would have liked additional courses in science or history, and 13% and 8% respectively felt the mathematics or English courses did not meet their needs or were not geared satisfactorily to the courses they entered in preparatory school. However, 68% of the boys felt that the academic program was appropriate and needed no changes.

With respect to the social aspects, 78% felt no changes were necessary. Changes that were suggested (in no case by more than 10% of the students) included: relaxing the pace to give more free time, diversifying the recreational activities, and having more social activities and dances. A suggestion made by some boys that had already been inaugurated with subsequent groups was arranging meetings with "veteran" ABC students to let the new boys hear about the independent schools and what they should expect there. This has been done in subsequent years and has been regarded as quite helpful.

They were asked whether their independent school was different than they had expected. The responses indicated that 26% found it about what they had expected, 49% found it somewhat different and 25% found it very different and encountered major surprises. The nature of the unexpected differences included: interpersonal atmosphere (36%), academic discipline (19%), and isolation (10%). Sometimes the unexpected differences came as pleasant surprises, sometimes as unpleasant ones. Many boys reported that after a summer at Dartmouth College their preparatory school had looked rather small and ill equipped and that they were particularly disappointed with dormitory accomodations. On the other hand, a few students were impressed by both their accomodations and the extensive facilities at their schools. Similarly with respect to interpersonal atmosphere, some students felt their schools were colder and more impersonal than anticipated, while others were pleased by the friendliness and informality of both staff and students.

Student reports of their initial reaction to their preparatory schools were:

4%	Very negative
14%	Negative
43%	Mixed or neutral
17%	Positive
22%	Very positive

In the entire group, the initial disappointments or dislikes reported were:

24%	Restricted social life, isolation, lack of girls
22%	Strictness of schedule, regimented living
19%	Poor accomodations and limited facilities
13%	General difficulty of adjustment and fitting in
10%	Difficulty of academic work, poor grades

The initial likes and sources of satisfaction reported were:

44%	Friendly and informal atmosphere, ready acceptance
28%	Academic aspects, quality of teachers and courses
21%	Athletic program, facilities and coaching
21%	Plant and facilities, extracurricular activities
11%	Location of campus and surrounding countryside

Thus initial experiences for most of the boys were favorable, but about 20% found various features of the new school definitely not to their liking.

In some cases the physical setting and geographical location of the school caused problems. The boys' continuing feelings about the location of their school were:

17%	Dislikes it very much, very unhappy
14%	Dislikes it somewhat
35%	Mixed feelings
14%	Likes it, quite satisfied
21%	Likes it very much, very happy

Obviously the actual location of the school plays a considerable role in determining the students response. Yet even in schools that were quite isolated the boys' responses were varied. One boy might hate the location, while another would be enthusiastic about the beauties of the surrounding countryside and the change in his environment. With respect to whether or not they felt isolated: 36% did not, 29% felt somewhat isolated and 35% felt very isolated.

The boys were asked whether they had found it hard or easy to adjust and what were their biggest problems. For the entire group of ABC students, the responses regarding general social adjustment to school were classified as follows:

15%	Very easy, no problems encountered
33%	Relatively easy, never any serious adjustment problems
21%	Mixed, some minor problems and adjustment difficulties
10%	Difficult, definite major problems
13%	Very difficult, serious and continuing problems
8%	Drop-out because of serious adjustment problems

For these students the serious adjustment problems mentioned were:

17%	Confinement and restriction of preparatory school life
14%	Problems in adjustment to peer group values and norms
11%	Personal psychological problems, emotional conflicts and tensions, depression, etc.
10%	Social class differences, discrepancy in life styles
10%	Academic problems, lack of organization and discipline
7%	Academic problems, lack of ability
6%	Racial problems, prejudice encountered
3%	Family problems, financial difficulties, conflicts at home, pressures to return

Comparing the responses of the boys with the responses of the faculty members reported earlier in the chapter, we note some differences. There was a slight tendency for the faculty reports to be more sanguine regarding the students' adjustment; while the students themselves reported a somewhat higher incidence of adjustment problems. However, the overall rates reported by the two groups do not appear too discrepant. From the reports of both groups it appears that about one-third of the students had definite adjustment problems, while the other two-thirds did not have a particularly difficult adjustment. The specific adjustment problems cited were in generally good agreement when one compared the staff reports with the boys' own accounts.

The ABC students were asked how they felt they fitted in with the boys at their school, whether they felt they really belonged or felt more like an outsider. For the entire group the responses concerning the students feelings of acceptance and belonging in the school were:

57%	Definitely belongs
13%	Slightly aware of differences, but feels accepted
18%	Fair acceptance but feels somewhat apart or alone
8%	Poor adjustment, is excluded or refuses to belong
4%	Very poor adjustment, unable to fit in

They were asked how they got along with the other boys in their dormitory and in their school and what they liked or disliked about them. The responses concerning relationship with other boys in the dormitory and at school were:

9%	Very poor
6%	Poor
26%	Mixed
38%	Good
21%	Very good

Asked what things they disliked about fellow students, 54% mentioned various annoying mannerisms or traits (immaturity, inconsiderateness, etc.) on the part of some individuals, 22% mentioned racial attitudes and prejudice, and 17% mentioned general attitudes and values toward life in general (too cynical, competitive, unambitious, etc.). These criticisms of schoolmates varied, and later we will present some of the things that bothered ABC boys. In some cases criticisms were limited to particular individuals or small cliques, while in other cases they were expressive of a more general discontent with the values and behavior of the student body.

They were asked whether there had been incidents with other students that they had disliked or that had upset them. This was not limited to racial attitudes (which were separately inquired about) but was to cover all types of disliked student behavior. For the entire group the reported upsetting or disliked behaviors or attitudes on the part of other students were:

8%	Grave incidents and/or continuing unpleasantness
17%	Occasional major incidents or unpleasantness
39%	Minor incidents or occasional unpleasantness
36%	Never any incidents

The nature of these complaints will be discussed in the representative comments later. However, it should be noted here that the primary thing the boys disliked was hazing and cruel behavior directed toward either themselves or other students. Only about a quarter of the boys reported serious situations, but there were clearly instances where matters had gotten out of hand and weaker boys were bullied. This was generally the most distasteful aspect of boarding school life for the ABC boys and a number were distressed by it. The capacity of some adolescent boys to make life miserable for their weaker and less attractive contemporaries is a persistent distasteful feature of school life.

ABC boys were asked whether they had made close personal friends at preparatory school: 13% said they had none; 49% said a small group;

and 38% said many. About 20% reported their friendships limited mainly to Negroes or other ABC boys, while 58% reported their friendships were broad and included a variety of types. The remainder had their friends mainly among restricted groups such as athletes, "playboys" or scholars. Thus only a small group felt themselves entirely isolated. About half the boys had visited classmates' homes on holidays or vacations, and about one-quarter of the entire group had made extended visits.

About 40% of the students did not have roommates, while the other 60% did. Most got along well with roommates and the few disagreements were generally over trivial matters. In only a few cases were there problems over racial or social attitudes. Most of the roommates were White students from upper-class or upper-middle-class backgrounds. About 20% of the boys were rooming with boys from other minority group backgrounds, generally at their own request during their second year at the school.

The boys were asked about participation in extracurricular activities. In the group participation in extracurricular activities was as follows:

21%	No activities
53%	Music, drama, and art clubs or hobby groups
22%	School newspaper, magazines or year books
22%	Student government or dormitory responsibility
21%	Social service activities, community or religious
15%	Science and language clubs or other subject oriented groups
8%	Debating teams and current events groups

Students who were not active usually reported either that they were not prone to join groups or that they felt they should spend most of their time studying.

For the entire group of ABC students, 68% had held no offices, 25% had been officers in some school activities or held minor dormitory responsibilities, and 7% either were major class officers or held office in other major activities (e.g. newspaper editor, etc.). Overall the ABC students participation in extracurricular activities was moderate. Some boys did not participate at all, while some boys were outstanding campus leaders.

About three-quarters of the boys had received a junior varsity or varsity letter in some sport. However, it should be noted that most schools had active sports programs with required participation and a high proportion of the student body received letters for one team or another. A quarter of the ABC boys had been either a co-captain or captain of some team. The majority of the ABC students liked the athletic program at their school; with only 13% critical, either of its compulsory aspects or of particular deficiencies in offerings or coaching. For many students the athletic programs had been enjoyable and they had gained recognition there.

The students were asked if they found the school staff, teachers and masters helpful. For the whole group, responses concerning helpfulness of teachers and staff were:

7%	No help needed, unnecessary and never looked for it
6%	Not helpful
4%	Limited, helped only with certain problems
33%	Somewhat helpful
58%	Very helpful

In addition, 35% of the ABC boys reported having very close and meaningful relationships with the staff, 43% has some degree of intimacy, while 22% reported no close relationships with teachers and staff members.

Lack of money, clothes or other necessities had been a definite problem at school for 11% of the boys, a slight problem for 22% of the boys, and not a problem for 67% of the boys. The ABC boys' feelings about being a scholarship student were reported as follows:

35%	No special feelings
33%	Grateful for opportunity
24%	Feels responsible and a sense of obligation
15%	Proud of it, feels he is earning it
7%	Ashamed, doesn't want others to know, wishes he was better off
6%	Resents it and that more seems expected of him

(In some cases students indicated more than one feeling, so percentages add to more than 100.)

The boys were asked whether they participated in dances and social activities at the school. The reports on participation in social activities was as follows:

22%	Has attended no social events
29%	Has attended very few social events
18%	Has attended occasional social events
6%	Has attended many social events
25%	Has attended most social events

According to those not participating, the reasons for low social participation were:

17%	Indifferent to them, feels too young
13%	Shy and insecure
10%	Racial reasons, color problems
7%	Social class reasons, feels stiff, uncomfortable, out of place
7%	Few activities open to his class

With respect to dating while at school the students reported:

36%	Not at all
26%	Very little
19%	Occasionally
17%	Quite a bit

Regarding racial problems or difficulties encountered in dating at school the ABC boys reported:

10%	Not applicable (i.e. White student)
38%	Not dating interracially
26%	Interracial dating with no problem
17%	Interracial dating with slight discomfort but no great problems
6%	Interracial dating with occasional minor incidents or awkwardness
3%	Interracial dating with major incidents and problems encountered, open hostility

The ABC boys were asked whether they personally had encountered any prejudice or discrimination from other students at their school. Their responses concerning signs of prejudice or discrimination were as follows:

10%	Not applicable (i.e. White students)
3%	Constant prejudice and discrimination, intolerable
29%	Definitely some major incidents, very upsetting
25%	A few minor incidents, nothing very important
28%	Never noticed any
6%	No, none, rather encountered an unusually tolerant and accepting atmosphere

Here we find considerable discrepancy between reports obtained from school staff members and those obtained from the ABC students themselves. The boys reported considerably more instances where they had encountered prejudice. Of course, it would be difficult for the faculty to be aware of all of the situations a boy might have encountered and many of the faculty, in fact, qualified their reports by saying that they were reporting only what they were aware of. However, it is clear that over half the ABC students felt that they had encountered some degree of prejudice in the school, and that a third of them felt the incidents were serious and upsetting. Later we shall look at the content of some of these reports.

Taking all the information together it would appear that the transition to the independent schools, while certainly not easy, was less difficult than might have been anticipated. We have found that most of the students reported that they felt they definitely belonged in their schools and that only a small group, about 10%, felt themselves very much apart from the school. Almost half felt that overall the transition in adjustment was relatively easy, but about a third felt that they had encountered some major problems and serious adjustment difficulties. Again, we will turn to the first-hand reports to hear what they had experienced and how they felt.

REPRESENTATIVE COMMENTS. We have already seen that although there were some criticisms of various aspects, most students had felt the initial ABC summer transitional program at Dartmouth was an effective and helpful preparation for the schools they entered. A few representative statements will be given to suggest the general enthusiasm for the summer program and also some of the criticisms and discontinuities experienced. Typical comments were:

> "It did a real good job. I couldn't have done as good a job here if I hadn't gone there. It surprised me academically - I couldn't have made it otherwise. It prepared me socially - so I knew what it was like living with other boys...No changes are necessary. There was a good outlook on everything. I expected what I found: a real nice school with real friendly kids. I was ready for it. The only thing that disappointed me were the dormitories here. They are cold and have paper thin walls with holes in them, otherwise nothing disappointed me." (Case 023)

Another boy reported:

> "The summer really helped a lot. I don't think I would have made the adjustment nearly as easily without it. It taught me how to study, what to expect, and self-discipline. But it would have helped if we could have talked to former ABC students so they could tell you what to expect, especially what to expect being a Negro. I didn't realize that there would be so few Negroes here. I took it in my stride but it was a surprise. Some of the boys may not have any of their own race to talk to. Also I was not used to the forms and the social system here." (Case 037)

Another student reported:

> "The summer did a rather good job. It introduced me to a lot of things that I hadn't had in high school; especially the pattern of work: the procedure, the class work, and the preparation of assignments. It accustomed you to being in a large, but restrained group, and 'taught you to bear your brother'.
>
> "We could have had a little more free time. The students are held somewhat tighter than necessary. Most schools aren't that scheduled, so it could be freer and have more breaks. I found it was tight here but not as tight as I expected. I had been afraid it would be a 24 hour compression chamber, but there are some nice breaks in the schedule during the day and I need them. I was in no way disappointed with the school. I was pleased about the relative freedom in the schedule and impressed by the head master. He's a wonderful person: just, firm, considerate, with all the good traits." (Case 076)

While most boys felt the summer transitional program was sufficiently rigorous and perhaps even too tight, an occasional student felt that it had been too easy or did not meet his needs.

> "The math here was quite different and I couldn't apply the new math I got at Dartmouth until this year. We had geometry here and the summer math didn't help much. Also there was a big difference when I got to prep school in the schedule. They should arrange things

> so that we have a tighter schedule in the summer to learn the demands of a schedule and develop the study habits needed. I hadn't really expected what it would be like here and didn't know how much things were planned and scheduled. The scheduling and constant pace was difficult to adjust to. With that exception I was pleased with everything and felt fortunate just to be here." (Case 025)

As has become evident by now for most boys the academic transition was the most difficult adjustment they had to make coming to preparatory school. However, for many boys the general adjustment to a different social atmosphere and peer group was hard. The style of life and the values differed from those to which they were accustomed. To indicate some of the contrasts, both in milder and more extreme degrees, we will present further student comments. First we will pay particular attention to the contrasts in peer values and the general social atmosphere encountered in the independent schools. A student who had a good academic record and who was actively involved in campus affairs reported:

> "I had thought there would be more Negro boys here, it was a contrast to the Dartmouth program. The campus was just like I thought it would be. But I hadn't expected all the tradition; some of the things don't quite make sense. I was disappointed because I thought there would be more social life. There are no dances and it is dull here, but I like the athletic activities and the classroom work...
>
> "It's really out in the sticks: I like the open country but miss the city. The dorms are great. I have a lot of friends in all classes, all kinds of kids. I like the broad interests of the boys, they are not close-minded but are open-minded, they have a lot of class. Most are quite natural even though many are wealthy. I disliked some snobbish boys who don't think we should be here and that we should know our place. They have ganged up on some of the boys and were physically rough with some, often the Jews. There are some boys who are prejudiced. We've heard round about of talk behind our backs. Some of the boys give the Jews a hard time. But I still feel I really belong here. I would send my son here in later years if some changes come. I am proud to be a member of the school and like to go here.
>
> "All kinds come and fit in. There is an adjusting process. You have to change and in some ways become middle-class 'White' Negroes but I don't want that kind of a change. I want to keep my ties with family and friends. I don't want to dissociate myself from them, just get up in the world.
>
> "There are not that many boys around here to whom I can really say everything I'd want to, because they couldn't grasp it. It's more superficial, I have some good friends on a casual level. I mix with all kinds

> and get along with all. We Negro boys stick together a lot but I don't think it's wrong, it's natural.
>
> "I have been to two dances but didn't like them. There is no 'Soul', they're stiff and there are not any Negro girls at most of them. It's frustrating for everybody. I haven't had any interracial dates, I think it would cause trouble here.
>
> "It's been easy to adjust, the school work has gone well and I get along with people. I want to meet all kinds, they interest me. I think Negroes are much more mature and a lot deeper than most of these boys. I had a rough time at home so I am more aware and experienced.
>
> "I know I'm here because they think I can put out: I try and I succeed. I don't feel inferior to anybody here. If my family had $15,000 a year I'd be just the same. I do look forward to more things in life. It doesn't bother me...but you have to know what you're getting into and should be told what is coming off, talk over problems, and understand the situation." (Case 070)

Another Negro student who was doing well in his work and who participated in many school activities and held some important offices reported:

> "I didn't get used to the life and people here until the end of last year. I was very insecure and didn't know who were my friends and who were not. Some students made fun of what I said; my slang was hard for them and they gave me a rough time. But most people were willing to help. As a Negro I feel a bit out and apart. Most of the students are regular nice guys, and understanding. They are without malice and prejudice, and accept me as another human being. Still I am an outsider by my background. They're friendly and nice guys but just aren't the kind of people I'm used to being with and they probably feel the same about me. I have a few very close White friends but not many. The rest we tolerate both ways. I have my own clique, a close circle. We don't need to pretend we're something we're not. We're poor Negro boys, all ABC from the same kinds of schools, homes, and environments.
>
> "I take in very few dances. In the social life I don't fit in as a Negro. I feel I'm tolerated but nothing more. I'm out of it, my father is not a diplomat.
>
> "It's been pretty hard to adjust here, admittedly pretty hard. It is different and you have to adjust. I'm trying to fit in: to maintain my identity as a Negro and yet assimilate with Whites. I get along; it is not like being the only little Negro at the University of Mississippi, but its there. It's

> there, but not on my mind day and night.
>
> "The teachers have all helped. They are the most tolerant and understanding people I have met in my life. I am sorry to be leaving here because I know the world outside isn't like this school.
>
> "The only intolerant people are ignorant people and I was when I came here. I knew nothing about White America when I came here, now I know a little bit." (Case 059)

Another Negro student with a fine academic record and active participation in his school reported:

> "I get along pretty well with just about everyone, it has helped that I play varsity sports. I like that the boys are natural and act themselves, they are not afraid to talk about the school and what they encounter. From the treatment I get from the other students I feel I belong here but because of my earlier experience I feel I don't, especially when the grades come out. Usually I enjoy it.
>
> "But there are very definite pressures to conform here, to strive for improvement in grades or on the team. There is a lot of pressure and it can make you or break you. If you are down you think it is too much, if you are up it is probably to your advantage. But it is too competitive, you have to like competition in all phases. It is hard if you hate to lose. I think they push success a little too hard here. Some people must not be able to make it but you never hear about the failures from this school.
>
> "Before I came here I wasn't aware that there was that much money around, but I have become aware that there are a lot of rich people. But I like most of them and found they were not snobs.
>
> "ABC really does a good job in preparing for the surface of life at prep school but most students are not aware of the true pressures in prep school: the disillusionment, the competition, expecially how it can disillusion you. It isn't Utopia: the place isn't everything everybody says it is. There is too much competitive stress, there is really so much. The school misrepresents itself and has a definite front. There is too much stress on success." (Case 007)

Despite the criticisms made by these boys regarding their schools and the values and pressures encountered, all basically felt that the benefits and gains were worth the cost and strain they had in adjusting. This was true for almost all of the ABC boys. For some the adjustment process had appeared even easier and they did not report as much strain. However, there were a few students who were much more critical and outspoken and who were highly disillusioned with their schools and the values and social life encountered. To indicate this type of response we will present the comments of probably the most alienated student. This boy is a highly intelligent Negro student who has had a fine academic record at his school:

> "I found it cold and unfriendly. Everything was different. For at least a year I wanted to go home. They are a very different kind of people socially and I felt isolated and alone...I am disappointed I came, but not for the academic side. Being way out here we are isolated from any centers of anything. It is picturesque but hard to take. I don't like the dormitories, they are too regimented and I feel herded. If I get involved in something like reading I still have to turn out the light at 10 p.m.. It is stifling.
>
> "I don't like my classmates. On the whole they are probably nice people, but most come from such sheltered areas. They lack the worldliness that I saw in street children. They are naive to a great extent. Their naivite' gives them a close-mindedness. They are very fixed for such young people. A few are loud and garrish. They act childish and engage in horseplay. I have overheard racial and religious bigots. There is a lot of two-facedness especially around teachers, there's real duplicity. These people are biased and narrow. I expected this, and it hasn't hurt me directly; but I know its there and it is a little disappointing.
>
> "I feel an outsider. These boys are narrow and unaware and I'm not stimulated by most of the people here. There is some diversity but it is within a prep school type. He doesn't know what is going on around him and he's happy not knowing. He can be emotional and have opinions based on nothing. I don't like the preppy type.
>
> "I have about 10 friends here, creative and tolerant people. This is what counts for me. Open-mindedness is more important than brightness; there is too much emphasis on brightness.
>
> "It's hard. I can adjust but I am not sure if I want to. I have to sacrifice too much. There is the problem of personal integrity. Is this what I want? I have deep questions about it. I have the notion that this school is the wrong place for me. It isn't democratic or free thinking. Its goal is respectability and acceptance. It is not democratic and its not meant to be.
>
> "When I came back from vacation it was a bout of depression. I was down for a week at least. I felt confined, like having to get compressed into a bottle after you have been let out and expanded. You know,

> Harlem has a profusion of different faces and a variety of life that doesn't exist here...I have a feeling of having to overcome the closing of thoughts in this narrow environment...As much as I dislike the school it has been a good experience. I have been able to change; instead of having no feelings now I have some. It hasn't been just distaste, there has been joy. Joy from being here and then going back, now I appreciate more what is at home." (Case 008)

An aspect of life at boarding schools that disturbed many ABC boys was hazing and cruelty. This unattractive feature of school life was one of the things most often mentioned when asked what they disliked about the behavior of their classmates. The hazing and cruelty might not be directed toward the ABC boys themselves, but it still disturbed them. Sometimes the ABC boys had been victims. One of the boys who had left school because of both academic and adjustment difficulties reported:

> "Things were okay in the dormitory until some of the boys started playing pranks. A lot were played on me. There were one or two boys who didn't like me at all. I don't think it was racial prejudice, they just didn't like me...They gave me a hard time. They threw a smoke bomb in my room. A lot treated me like a character. They teased me about my accent and acted like I was unique. They would muss up my hair and I didn't like that. They wanted a reaction from me. I felt like an outsider. I didn't seem to fit in."
> (Case 011)

Another boy, a White student, who had had a difficult adjustment to his peers reported:

> "The attitudes of the boys bothers me. The 'in' thing to do is to bait other boys, to talk about them when they leave the room. They try to cut people down and build up their own egos. It gets on my nerves, this cutting of others down. I had expected the boys here to be more mature but they do stupid things, goofy things, kid stuff. I am disappointed with their attitudes. I really dislike this cruel teasing and ribbing. Sometimes they bait me and start mocking me. They are childish and trying to build themselves up. It is really prevalent here because they are so secluded and know each other so well. They try to cut each other down. It took me a year to get used to the school and the boys' attitudes. It was different from what I was taught at home, they try to seem more men of the world. Getting used to the boys, their cruelty and hardness was difficult. At one point I wanted to leave last year but my math teacher went out of his way to help me."
> (Case 080)

ABC students reported many instances where they encountered prejudice and racial problems. In its milder degrees these took form of racial "joking" and "kidding". Some of the boys said that they did not particularly mind this.

> "Nothing has bothered me here. We kid around and joke about race and religion just for fun. You cannot hide that I'm a Negro and I don't feel we should keep away from it. We have it out in the open and this is pretty good. There are no bigots or narrow people here. I think there is more prejudice among adults. A kid is a kid." (Case 013)

However, attitudes toward racial kidding differed a great deal. In the same school one boy might say that it didn't bother him while another might be very disturbed by it. Clearly many of the boys did not like it. A Negro student said:

> "I get along fairly well. Most of the boys are good natured and look at you as an individual, they take you as yourself and judge you as yourself. But every so often I think to myself 'What in the hell am I doing here?'. I dislike the racial kidding. I get a little tired of hearing 'Hey you're using a lot of soap, are you trying to turn white?' when I go into the shower. But when I kid back about 'you rich kids' they feel hurt. It is more teasing than prejudice but I still am aware that I am the only Negro on the team. They call me 'Snow White'. Sometimes I question what am I doing here. To a degree I am out of place when I see where they are from and what they have.
>
> "I have learned a lot about people. I used to think everybody was good and nobody was out to get anybody. But some people are selfish. Some are always ready to cut somebody down and make others look stupid. Some of the boys are like that. Some people say things that they don't mean about you, but it can be cruel. Racial teasing hurts." (Case 037)

An American Indian boy reported:

> "I get along pretty well. Most are pretty friendly and nice to me. Every so often I meet someone I dislike. One boy keeps calling me 'Indian'. He's a pest with everyone so I just ignore it. A lot of boys have never seen an Indian. They were kind of quiet, but after awhile did ask me how we live. They're not really prejudiced but call me names like 'Indian Joe'. I ignored them and they let up. At first it bothered me a lot and I wanted to stay away from them. I somewhat feel like an outsider. Everybody seems to have something in common with somebody else, but I don't have that much in common with them. They talk about dances and a life I don't know anything about." (Case 048)

Besides the racial kidding, many instances of racial discrimination and prejudice were reported, far too many. Often White students at the independent school showed the prejudiced attitudes and behavior of their homes and society. Most students the ABC boys met were generally tolerant and accepting, but the boys could never be sure when overt and blatant prejudice might be encountered. A Negro student reported:

> "I am surprised to find that the majority are friendly. There is a certain group I dislike because they don't like Negroes. We know they don't, they are snobs and feel they are superior. They don't say anything to your face but in a group they talk down about you. Some of these well-to-do boys have something about Negroes in general. My roommate the first year had to be moved out because his father didn't want his son rooming with a Negro. It happened the first two weeks here. I had expected it and accepted it would be like that. But generally I fit in well. We all feel that we contribute something to the school and belong.
>
> "I have been dating White girls. The girls are broad-minded but their parents aren't. The parents of one of my friends' dates threatened to take her out of the school. I feel there is nothing we can do, its too bad parents feel this way.
>
> "I have found the White population is not as different as I had assumed. The faculty are willing to help and are friendly. I have gotten to feel more free and easy. The students here are more broad-minded than their parents. The racial situation will get better as these students teach their children about equality between Negro and White." (Case 025)

Another Negro ABC boy reported:

> "The people treated me just like a regular student and that was good. I like the way I was treated by the teachers and everybody tried to make me feel at home. There was a senior who was close-minded and didn't like Negroes and avoided us. He did not talk to me when I was at the table and when he was serving food he made sure I didn't get extras. There have been some other minor incidents like extra roughness and name calling in athletic games, and a little racial kidding like calling me a 'black sheep' when I did something wrong. But generally I fitted in well with the other boys and felt I belonged."
>
> (Case 026)

A Puerto Rican student reported:

> "I got along all right at first but suddenly we have 'Puerto Rican month'. I am not getting along too well. They have started kidding me and calling me 'Spick'. It gets me disgusted. I walk

> by and don't talk. They say here comes 'the Spick'. I feel disgusted though I might laugh. It used to be 'Jew month', now I guess it's 'Spick month'. I feel like an outsider. I don't believe in smoking and they blow smoke in my face. (Case 065)

Another Puerto Rican student who had a fine academic record and who was outstandingly popular in his school encountered prejudice when he did not expect it.

> "I have gotten along very well and have been on lots of class committees. I like the friendliness and sincerity of most of the boys. Some of them are snobbish and don't understand people out of their class.
>
> "I had a close friend and wanted to room with him, but he didn't and kept putting it off. Finally he said that he wanted to but that his parents wouldn't let him because of his sisters - they might feel that they could date boys with dark skin. That day I wanted to commit suicide. A master said the good people were on my side. That is the one incident I had, the only one; but it hurt me a lot."
>
> (Case 067)

Many more incidents of discrimination could be given. It is clear that many ABC students encountered prejudice. Generally their overall acceptance in the schools was very good, but there was sufficient evidence showing that most of the Negro students met hostility and discrimination from some of their classmates. This major uncertainty as to when and how it might be encountered was undoubtedly responsible for a good part of the adjustment stress. While bigotry and intolerance of the larger society inevitably did affect the interracial atmosphere; it should be emphasized that the goals of the ABC program and the participating independent schools were tolerance and genuine equality and that the realization of these aims met some success. We cannot be sanguine in a society sick with racism and prejudice, but in this program and in these schools many of the ABC boys generally found a kind of acceptance and respect they had hoped for. To recognize the failures is not to deny the genuine accomplishments.

A positive influence in the ABC students' adjustment to the schools was the staff and faculty. Many boys reported that the faculty had been helpful to them; and often they cited individual teachers who had helped them generally and in particularly trying times.

> "My English teacher, Dr. H., is a unique person. He can talk intelligently on anything. He has a wonderful sense of humor and is always at ease. He is a friend and not strict and dignified. He is liberal and fair. They have the same kind of personal involvement and contact that was at Dartmouth, I'm very pleased. The faculty is not aloof here. My wrestling coach is extremely friendly. You know he is on your side even though he may be disciplining you. I feel very positively on the faculty." (Case 049)

> "I like the teachers. At Dartmouth I learned what to expect. Somehow they're not like the teachers I knew but more like fathers. The whole concept of what I thought teachers were changed. They have invited me to come for help and lifted up my spirit. In general all of them have been helpful, the young ones especially. They are just out of college and very helpful. You can come to see how an older person feels. One of my teachers especially, Mr. B., is most mature. I talk to him when I'm upset. He has experienced a lot and done a lot and understands. He gives you strength. All have been friendly and a lot took me home to dinner with their families."
> (Case 067)

It should be added that the concern of faculty members for the ABC boys was evident in most staff interviews. They knew the boys unusually well and were genuinely concerned with their development. The dedication of independent school faculty to the ABC program and its goals was impressive and undoubtedly has been a major factor in the degree of success achieved. It was obvious talking to these faculty members that they genuinely were for the program and for the boys. It is clear that the ABC students were aware of this and that this sympathetic support and friendship helped them.

The ABC boys' response to the fact that they were on scholarship varied. Many said that they had no particular feelings one way or another, that they felt the same as other students, and thought little about differences. Among those who did feel more aware of their status as scholarship boys, attitudes varied greatly from quite negative to extremely positive. Some of the comments concerning both the boys' financial situation and needs at the schools and their attitudes toward their status as scholarship students will indicate the kinds of responses. A Negro boy, who was only a fair student and had been a disappointment to his teachers because of his lack of hard work and tendency to drift, reported:

> "I have lacked some of the things I'd like to have, especially sports equipment, golf clubs and tennis rackets like the other boys have. The boys on scholarship have jobs here. I don't particularly care for things like cleaning up class rooms. I don't like to sweep, it is distasteful. It seems the school is divided into scholarship boys and regular students, and they are set apart." (Case 060)

A Negro student who was very poorly adjusted to his school and in great conflict regarding the pressures he felt were placed on him reported:

> "There is a loss of self-respect stemming from money. I feel that they expect me to be too grateful."
> (Case 046)

Other students were more mixed in their feelings. A White boy reported:

> "My parents have had it rough lately. My Mother is sick and they have been trying to support

> my brother at college but I have what I need and can get by. They're not in the least discriminatory against scholarship boys here. Sometimes I wish I wasn't one because I feel that I'm down a notch and that my family doesn't equal theirs. But I'm not really ashamed, actually it's an honor." (Case 027)

Another White student who was not doing especially well academically and who had found the adjustment to his peers difficult reported:

> "There have been money troubles at home, getting enough to come here. I have to work over vacation. It has been hard on my family and has caused some strain for them. That was one reason I had thought of staying home this year because I want to help my family. But there have been no real lacks at school. It is a great honor to be on scholarship. You have to gain it for yourself and have to work to get here. I am ashamed that I have let people down who have put trust and faith in me. I am not treated any different from the other boys." (Case 080)

Another Negro student with positive attitudes said:

> "There have been no lacks. I think you have a certain respect and responsibility. It is not a thing you should just take for granted. It changes your attitude. You have to have a certain responsibility and respect, unless you do you cannot appreciate the full benefits." (Case 078)

The first-hand accounts of the students adjustment to the schools could be expanded, but by now we have a fairly full picture of what the boys reported they had experienced. This account has particularly emphasized aspects of the transition and adjustment to the schools that had proved difficult. There is no question but that it was hard for many students. The problems involved both academic difficulties and the challenge of making the social adjustment to a very different kind of social life and student culture. Also, many students encountered racial tensions and problems. However, our attempt to give a full and accurate picture of the difficulties should not obscure the fact that most students had made quite successful adjustments. Many ABC boys were outstanding in the way they entered into the life of their schools and the satisfactions and rewards they found. It is always easier to dramatically present problems and conflicts. The day-to-day record of solid achievement and steady gain may be less compelling, but it presents the truer picture. By and large, the boys' reports were of their warm acceptance into school settings that encouraged their development and where they found opportunity to discover and realize their unique abilities and skills. Most boys were well equipped to handle the new situations and were truly appreciative of the opportunities they had and the respect they had found and won.

CONCLUSIONS REGARDING SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

The information gathered regarding the adjustment of the ABC students to their schools indicates that the picture is predominantly positive. About 10% of the entire group of ABC students dropped out because of serious social adjustment problems. Another 20% had continuing difficulties. However, the remaining 70% appeared to have encountered only transient or minor problems which they proved quite capable of handling. Thus we conclude that about one-third of the students had serious social adjustment difficulties, while the other two-thirds had made an adequate or better adjustment. For about one-third of the group it could honestly be said that their adjustment was very good or outstanding with no great problems evident.

Though most ABC boys made a satisfactory or good adjustment overall, this does not mean that they encountered no problems. Even though the majority felt that the general atmosphere of their schools was tolerant and accepting, over half the boys reported that they had experienced some racial prejudice - and almost a third reported some definite major incidents. Also, while three-fifths felt they were well accepted and "belonged" in their schools, two-fifths felt "apart" in varying degree. Few boys were totally isolated or alienated, but many felt themselves different and had been uncomfortable. Many ABC boys expressed concern regarding their "identity" and the degree to which they should "assimilate" to White middle-class and upper-class values and behavior. Some boys were very troubled by these questions and rejected the pressures they felt were placed on them, but most seemed to be adjusting comfortably to the schools and did not seem in great conflict - at this point in their lives. In many schools as the proportions of Negro students increased, distinct cliques with varying degrees of emphasis on Black identity and ideology emerged. While some school administrators were disappointed that such grouping had apparently reduced interracial mixing and assimilation, most had come to feel that such grouping was an inevitable development and served an important function. Clearly these Black groups helped to provide social support for the Negro students in confronting their new environment - among close and trusted friends who shared a common background they had been able to talk freely about common problems and maintain their identity. Rather than feeling isolated and alone, as did many of the American Indian boys, the Negro students could rely upon each other for mutual support. Despite these very real concerns and problems, it should be emphasized that most of the ABC students had made quite satisfactory adjustments to the preparatory schools.

That the overall record on social adjustment appears so favorable is a tribute both to the capacity and strengths of the boys and to the generally supportive environments they found in the schools. Clearly most ABC boys were challenged by the different world they entered. The academic and social demands were great, but they coped with and mastered them far better than might be expected considering what was required of them and the potential problems. That the ABC students largely have fared well in their social adjustment is due to many things. Certainly one reason was the preparation they received during the summer transitional program and the support they received from the staff of the schools they entered. This unusual consideration and care has been manifest throughout the program and undoubtedly plays a major role in the success achieved. But it is the character of the boys themselves that is most significant. It should be recognized that as has been indicated in previous chapters, the ABC boys were a highly unusual group. Certainly they were "disadvantaged" economically and many had academic handicaps. However it would be unrealistic to regard these boys as typical of the "hard core" of disadvantaged students that are such a critical problem in American education. The ABC students do come from poor and disadvantaged backgrounds, but despite the generally limited opportunities in their environments most of these boys already stood out for their academic potential and unusual personal qualities. With few exceptions, the ABC students were not unmotivated and apathetic ghetto boys severely limited in scholastic achievement and in capacity to meet and enter into a competitive society. Though coming from impoverished homes, poor schools, and often disorganized communities, they have already distinguished themselves in these difficult environments by their unusual success and drive. They are aware of the world about them and determined to improve their lot. In difficult circumstances, young though they may be, most had already shown resiliency and determination. This strength of character more than anything else accounts for their high degree of success in meeting the challenges of the different world they entered.

CHAPTER 7

PERSONAL AND SOCIAL CHANGES

An important aim in evaluating the ABC program was to determine its impact upon the lives and personalities of the boys. What were the personal consequences, intended and unintended, of this program? Project ABC was designed to give greater opportunity to aspiring and promising disadvantaged boys. It was hoped that these presumed benefits would produce substantial positive changes in their lives. Did this in fact happen?

Obviously there are serious questions of values and social aims involved. Explicitly or implicitly such a program must have some conception of desirable values and goals for the participants. How does one articulate these values in such a diverse undertaking? And who does have the impartiality and perspective to fairly assess their desirability and their attainment? These questions are raised here not because the answers are readily provided, but rather to suggest how fundamental and complex are the issues in assessing the effects of the program. There probably can be no such final arbiter of social value as all one's judgments are inevitably preconditioned by one's individual life circumstances and basic assumptions. (The perspectives of the "sociology of knowledge" suggest the inevitable bias in social judgments, - see P.L. Berger, 1963, pp. 25-53, 110-118.) One's acceptance, or rejection, or ambivalence toward dominant social values, institutions, and systems will inevitably color and predetermine one's assessment of the effects of such a program. Though these considerations may seem somewhat afield from the immediate question of attempting to assess the personal and social consequences of Project ABC, they indicate why the writer can make no claim to a superhuman impartiality and objectivity. Yet while he obviously is sympathetic to the general purposes and goals of Project ABC, he also feels that there inevitably are problematic aspects to their articulation and realization. The recognition that "Truth" is multifaceted and not anyone's exclusive possession means that there must be a constant questioning and evaluation of what and how one knows. The kind of psychologist who listens to and tries to understand other people, relies largely upon what they report they have observed and experienced. This kind of testimony is our primary data. It is fallible and inevitably biased, but it is real and important. To the degree possible, it is important to supplement these observations with more "rigorous" and "objective" techniques. Therefore, this assessment of the personal and social consequences of Project ABC used both interviews and standardized psychological testing.

INDEPENDENT SCHOOL FACULTY REPORTS CONCERNING CHANGES

A number of questions in the two-year follow-up interview with independent school staff concerned the changes that had been observed in the boy (Appendix D, Schedule 2). Obviously the changes noted must be influenced considerably by characteristics of the respondents as well as by the changes "actually" occurring in the boy. Different respondents might have reported different changes. Despite this limitation we at least have the assurance that the staff members answering the questions did know the boys intimately in a variety of circumstances and would be aware of some of the most salient changes. Though percentages will be given indicating frequency of various responses, these are supplied simply to show roughly relative proportions of particular changes noted for the entire group of boys. Certainly the number of cases considered (i.e. all 74 boys who went on to preparatory schools) are too small, and the possible selective biases or inadvertent omissions, etc. are probably too great to attach particular significance to the specific percentages. What we are interested in is the rough order of magnitude of various trends cited, and assume that compilation of the trends for different boys should indicate the most outstanding directions of change in the entire group.

EFFECTS ON STUDENTS' LIVES. The major questions regarding personal and social changes came toward the end of the interview with the independent school staff member. Their responses on how Project ABC had affected the boy's life were:

47%	Very positive, definitely beneficial
26%	Generally positive, beneficial
18%	Mixed, balance of good and bad
5%	Generally negative or completely untouched
3%	Very negative, unfavorable, detrimental
1%	Don't know

Clearly in the majority of cases the program's effects were regarded as beneficial and in only a small minority were the effects seen as seriously harmful. The various reasons given for the beneficial effects of the program were as follows, (Often more than one reason was cited so percentages do not add to 100.):

78%	Educational benefits and gains
64%	Wider experience socially and culturally
23%	Raised ambitions
22%	Pride in self and accomplishments
10%	Not applicable or nothing mentioned

Typical of the kinds of positive statements regarding the benefits was:

> "It's a wonderful thing, it has enabled him to know himself and his potential - to realize there is a future for him. It has given him a greater sense of purpose. A year ago we would not have known for he was having real academic trouble. But he has really caught fire. He's popular, he's working hard, he's cheerful and cooperative. It is a great thing, we are terribly happy." (Case 075)

Another example showing the broad kinds of gains frequently cited was the following:

> "It has been a good thing overall. It has broadened his horizons while he still has maintained his identity. He has become academically motivated and interested in what he is doing. It's

> taken him out of a provincial neighborhood and exposed him to a broader background. He has held his own and gained self-confidence. He knows he has to rise above rough circumstances. I am not sure about his long-range plans, but it already has done a lot. There have been no bad consequences evident. It is satisfying to work with this kind of boy. There are real rewards - perhaps even more than with those who are the clear academic successes." (Case 079)

The reasons given for the bad effects of the program showed the following distribution:

61%	None evident or nothing mentioned
16%	Too heavy an academic burden
12%	Question whether there was much educational benefit that would not have been received at home
7%	Very difficult social experiences (class and status aspects)
5%	Very difficult social experiences (racial aspects)
5%	Kindles hopes he is unable to fulfill
1%	Loss of identity and "roots"

An example where concern was expressed that the academic burden was too heavy is found in the case of a retiring and sober boy who was near the bottom of the class despite his diligent efforts. His faculty advisor said:

> "I have serious doubts about how good this is for him. This doesn't seem to be the right school for him and it is beginning to have bad effects. He used to have enthusiasm but as he has continued doing poorly he has become withdrawn and discouraged. It's too much of a challenge and I doubt he will benefit greatly. Now he says nothing and seems less confident. Things will probably get harder. We are disappointed as far as his progress. Though he always tries to do the work he can't really extend himself. He's too rigid and tight. He tries but has low aptitude. He probably will graduate but he is near the bottom. The boys think of him as dumb." (Case 077)

The kind of comment that indicated both the difficult nature of the social experience and the problem of loss of identity was the following:

> "Basically it's been good, mainly positive, I would say there has been a net positive gain. When he does mature he should be able to do a lot with his abilities. The loss of identity seems to be the only really negative effect. I am sure he doesn't want to identify with where he came from. He really seems to be trying to shed it. He doesn't have friends at home and seems to want to turn his back on it. He may have become too assimilated and money-conscious." (Case 069)

REPORTED CHANGES IN BOYS. Besides the general question of overall benefits, specific questions were asked regarding the nature of the positive changes occurring while the boy had been in the school. In 62% of the cases specific positive changes were mentioned; in 35% no positive changes were reported; and 3% were classified "don't know". The specific positive changes cited were as follows. (Again percentages add to more than 100.):

53%	More at ease, gained confidence
23%	Academic improvement
19%	Wider background, exposed to more
15%	More aware and perceptive
14%	More articulate, better able to express himself
8%	More direction, higher goals, raised horizons
7%	Improved his relationship to authority
1%	More tolerant, accepting diversity, less prejudiced

In 27% of the cases specific negative changes were reported; in 68% no negative changes were reported; and 5% were classified "don't know". The specific negative changes cited were as follows:

14%	More tense, anxious, depressed
11%	Discouraged by his own limitiations, defeated
8%	Less drive and dedication
4%	Alienated, cynical
3%	Smug, complacent and snobbish

We have already presented an excerpt from the comments indicating the kind of defeat and discouragement observed in one case. A number of students were felt to have become more tense and anxious, and as we will see later in the chapter the psychological tests do indicate overall heightened levels of anxiety and tension. A pronounced instance of such increased tension was found in the case of a student who even during the first summer was regarded as difficult because of his extreme oversensitivity and conflicts with both teachers and peers. This became increasingly marked in preparatory school. According to a faculty member:

> "He's not popular; in fact somewhat unpopular. He's a loner, enigmatic with a serious appearance that puts people off. There were incidents where he was being harassed and he reacted with a punch in the nose. The boys were afraid of him. This year he hasn't been ridden as much...He acts like an outsider by his own choice. He's found it very hard to adjust here and appears to be losing control of the situation. He's fighting the institution and its systems and rules. He doesn't do what he should and is disobeying minor rules. This has begun to hit his grades. He seems to feel he is losing control of the situation. He figured as long as he kept his grades up he could keep his identity and autonomy. He's very tense and anxious and becoming more so.
>
> "When he goes home he gets tense. He wants to be accepted and is afraid he will be considered a

> 'sell-out'. It's a tough week when he comes back here - it looks like he is seething for a week... This has created real problems. We are afraid the tension will get so great that he will have to leave. This has been too much of an emotional battle for him, not really constructive." (Case 046)

Interviewing the boy, it was evident that the school had cause for concern and that he was in great conflict regarding the pressures he felt were upon him. Both the school and he recognized the desirability of psychiatric help, but his mother was reluctant to give permission even though the school would pay for the help. Overtly he was the most tense and emotionally conflicted of the ABC students.

Besides increased anxiety, another negative change occasionally cited in some boys was a sense of soberness and discouragement. This was most frequently mentioned regarding boys who had difficulty in measuring up to either the social or academic standards in their schools. Some of these were immature "little boys" who were not able to keep up with their peers. One such boy was described as physically and emotionally immature for his age. He did not seem ready to do what was expected of him despite the efforts of various faculty members to make him take hold. They described him as a pleasant boy with good intentions but with low abilities and deficient drive. Though he appeared relatively happy in the dormitory he was regarded as immature by other students - kind of a "plaything" or a "pest" that they had to kick out of their rooms. His physical and social immaturity seemed the basic problem. One faculty member commented:

> "He hasn't really changed much. Perhaps he is a little sadder - a little less cheerful because we have said that this can't go on forever, that he has got to begin to deliver." (Case 040)

There were a few other boys who fit this pattern of slowness in academic and social development and who had begun to suffer because of it. Fortunately they were relatively small in number. Retrospectively it might be noted that it would be difficult to distinguish these boys in advance because other boys who appeared equally immature during the first summer were able to develop considerably in the course of two years.

Occasionally faculty members cited evidence for a loss of drive and dedication in some boys. These students had a "sophomore slump". They drove very hard the first year, but once they found they could survive academically in the school they tended to ease off and become more involved in social activities. In mild degree this might be a favorable development indicative of greater confidence and fuller use of extracurricular opportunities, but in some cases it was a serious and injurious loss of drive. For some boys it was sufficiently serious so that their academic records were definitely affected and the kinds of colleges they had initially aspired to appeared out of the question because of the decline in their work. Commenting on the changes in one such ABC boy a faculty member observed:

> "His academic progress has not been as good as it should be. He has been lazy and lackadaisical and tries

> to get away with his big smile and engaging personality. He seems less serious this year than last. He's getting careless and is not as punctual. Now he's trying to be one of the guys here. Last year he was extra serious. He is still involved but sometimes gets around too much. The boys like him and he is popular, but sometimes he plays the fool when he could stand on his own merits.
>
> "I don't know whether this has been a worthwhile educational experience for him. He probably could have gotten as much in New York City. Here he is with middle-class suburban types. I wonder whether this contact is beneficial for him. He is getting too complacent. Perhaps he belongs too much and is too comfortable. He certainly has become more complacent and easygoing about his studies. He is approaching the average when he should be above it. Perhaps he fits in too well here and has become too much like the other boys here. He's lost drive to a degree and his letdown may have hurt his chances. I don't think we have done him any particular good and may have harmed him. He's assimilating to a culture and set of values that is not something to strive for for someone in his situation. He might well have been better off in a good school in New York City." (Case 064)

While some students over-conformed and over-assimilated, others fought battles with school and student values. They were fewer in number and according to faculty reports, most of the conflicts were subdued. One of the examples of pronounced conflict was the student cited in the last chapter as perhaps the most alienated boy:

> "At first he got along well but there's beginning to be a separation. He is drawing away in some respects. He's picking up with the hippies and wants to get out of here. He's become an outsider, alienated and getting more so. He associates with a group of intellectuals, all the rest are White boys. They are bohemian, bright, agitating politically, argumentative and lively. They are seriously and sincerely anti-authority. Now he is in violent conflict with the school and its values. He's having a very difficult time. He is fighting the school: he knows what he is getting, but is in conflict. He's reacting negatively to the White middle-class and rigid conformity. He shows a lot of maturity and confidence, but I worry sometimes that he may go off the deep end."
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> (Case 008)

Although many ABC students were critical of White American society, as we have seen; very few could be described as having become markedly alienated or disaffected.

Another question asked the staff concerned characteristics they felt that it would be desirable for the boy to change. Obviously, as with previous questions, the answers depend very much on the values and attitudes of the faculty member. Many of the experienced teachers had developed high degrees of tolerance and even sympathy for individual quirks and differences, and were reluctant to presume to judge how an individual boy should change. However, many others felt that, in fact, a particular boy had characteristics that either the school or they personally wished were different. Thus we can get some indication of the overall kinds of changes that were seen desirable by the faculty members. (Again percentages need not add to 100 because of multiple desired changes for some of the boys.) The classification of the responses on desired changes in ABC boys was as follows:

28%	None necessary, or reluctant to judge
35%	More studious, academically disciplined or motivated
34%	More outgoing and sociable
16%	More self-confident, less anxious and tense
15%	Expand his ambitions and become more aware of opportunities
12%	More flexible, less rigid and tight
10%	More verbal fluency and expressiveness
10%	More mature, less childish and juvenile
10%	Better acceptance of authority and rules
7%	More responsive to peer group values and standards
3%	More intellectual and cultural awareness
3%	More aggressive and assertive
1%	More aware of his intellectual limitations

A variety of desirable changes were mentioned. Usually they touched upon matters that were important problems for individual boys. Some of these problems have been already indicated for individual cases and will be so throughout this report. Here we will simply note the major areas of desired change. For one-third of the students the faculty members felt there could be further improvement on academic discipline and motivation. We have seen that most of the students were regarded as having improved academically, but it is clear the faculty still felt that many had a considerable distance yet to go. Also in a third of the cases the faculty members felt that the student should become more outgoing and sociable. It was quite common for the faculty members to comment that individual ABC boys were quite retiring and tended to be uninvolved, though there certainly were many notable exceptions to this. Evidently a large number of students still felt relatively ill at ease and withdrawn in their new social surroundings.

The independent school staff members were also asked about any attitude changes which they thought were occurring in the boy as a result of his experience. Most faculty members felt it difficult to answer this question with any assurance. The distribution of responses to this question on apparent changes in boys' attitudes was as follows:

38%	Don't know or reluctant to guess
24%	No evident changes
38%	Yes, some changes indicated

The classification of the specific attitude changes mentioned was as follows:

62%	None mentioned
26%	More aware of opportunities and worlds beyond his own
14%	More aware of people and how he relates to them
7%	An increasing sense of responsibility towards fellow men
5%	Increased racial concern, emphasis on racial identity
4%	More politically aware and concerned
1%	More critical, cynical, disenchanted

Because so many of the faculty were uncertain regarding possible attitude changes and because the ABC students themselves were so eloquent regarding such attitude changes, we will not elaborate further on the changes the faculty members reported but wait instead for the boys' own account.

In the preceding chapter on social adjustment we considered the question of the students' acceptance or rejection of their background and the degree to which they experienced "identity problems". It will be recalled that faculty opinion was that about three-quarters of the students showed no evident conflicts. However, we also indicated some of the issues that had arisen for some of the students in this regard. Clearly, attitudes on racial matters showed significant change for many boys. More will be said of this later.

The independent school staff members were asked whether they were aware of the development of new interests by the boys. Most had not seen any great changes. The distribution of responses on the development of new interests were:

8%	Don't know or cannot tell
58%	No, has not shown any new interests
3%	No, but always had a wide range of interests
23%	Yes, but only in very limited fields
7%	Yes, very much so and in many fields

Frankly, it was expected that there might be more reports of a real "blossoming" of new interests, but evidently most ABC students were so challenged by the immediate pressures of the academic work that they did not have much opportunity to expand and deepen their interests. However, for a few there was such growth. One boy whose first year was very difficult academically and was still just average in his grades had the following comments made about him:

> "He is a prolific reader and has fallen head-over-heels in love with art. He's much improved this year. He loves to get his work done and read books and he's really become excited by art."
>
> (Case 032)

Another student, whose work constantly was near the top of his class, made full use of all the extra opportunities he has had. He was described in the following way:

> "His work is very fine, outstanding, and he's fully realizing his potentialities and using opportunities. He rises to challenge. He's active and does extra things for classes. Things come to him easily. He's a fast reader and covers assigned material easily but then he goes on to do a lot of extra work on his own. His scope has widened quite a bit. He attends plays and concerts. His awareness of the arts has developed and he's awakened to all kinds of things in politics. There is growing awareness." (Case 034)

For some students there had been realization of the possibilities in their new environments in a variety of ways, but for most the growth of new interests did not appear exceptional.

SUMMARY OF FACULTY REPORTS OF CHANGES. In summation we would conclude on the basis of these faculty reports that there had been some distinct changes in the ABC students during the two years. In the great majority of the cases (about 75%) the program's effects were seen as beneficial. In about 20% of the cases the results were seen as mixed. And in less than 10% of the cases were they seen as predominantly negative. The gains were reported mainly in terms of educational benefits, wider experience, and raised ambitions. The problems for some students stemmed from being put under too heavy an academic burden, with greater maturity and ability required than they possessed. The majority of changes reported were positive, with academic improvements and greater confidence seen as outstanding areas of gain. Increased tension and anxiety or depression were reported for about one-sixth of the students; and some students were reported to have lost drive and motivation. In the remainder of the chapter we will see how these changes reported by the independent school faculty relate to the changes reported by the students themselves and the changes found on psychological tests.

ABC STUDENT REPORTS CONCERNING CHANGES

It is from the ABC boys themselves that we were particularly interested to hear about the effects of the experience. After all, it is they alone who have unique personal knowledge as to what has happened. Before presenting what they reported, it is appropriate for the writer to make a personal observation. One of the most striking impressions from the follow-up interviewing was the enormous growth in articulateness and personal expressiveness in the ABC boys. Part of this growth might be due to two years social maturation and part might be due to lessened anxiety in the interview situation; but it seems that a large measure must be attributed to the effects of their experiences in the independent schools. Many boys who two years earlier had been quite reticent and tense appeared far more outgoing and expressive. The amount of personal experience and awareness that they were willing to share was frequently very impressive; and on many occasions the interviewer was genuinely moved by the depth of awareness and insight in these young men. It was clear that for many boys something very important had happened during these years. They themselves were groping to formulate it and understand its significance. They wanted to communicate what the experience had been for them and how they felt they had changed.

The two-year follow-up interviews with the Dartmouth ABC students on the effects of their experiences (Appendix D, Schedule 3) included 72 of the 74 boys who had attended preparatory school; 7 had dropped out and 65 were continuing. (Thus, the group includes 7 of the 8 boys who left preparatory school; but it does not include 8 boys who started the program the first summer but never attended preparatory school; — in Chapter 9 all of these "drop-out boys" will be discussed.) So the data presented here is based on almost all ABC students who entered and attended preparatory school (i.e. 72 out of 74).

EFFECTS ON STUDENTS' LIVES. Toward the end of the interview the student was asked how Project ABC had affected his life and whether it had been a good or bad thing for him personally. The distribution of the answers as to how Project ABC had affected their lives was as follows:

39%	Excellent, genuine enthusiasm, "great"
36%	Good, favorable
17%	Mixed or indifferent
3%	Poor, critical
3%	Definitely detrimental, harmful
2%	Not sure

Three-quarters of the boys felt it had been predominantly beneficial, and only a very few felt that it had been harmful. The number of personal testimonials as to the benefits of the program was impressive. It is difficult to adequately reflect the enthusiasm and appreciation of the many highly favorable students, but a small sampling of the kinds of expressions elicited will indicate how they felt. A Negro boy from a small rural southern town commented:

> "It's a great thing! It's the one big break I've had. I'm happy it happened to me. I couldn't ask for a better deal. It's given me a sense of meaning and purpose. Without it I would have been nothing: 80% of my friends don't finish high school, they work on a farm or get drafted, but I can get a better job. I pray I can get a scholarship. It will be another break if I can get it...Tell them this is it! This is the break I needed. Tell them that without this break and consideration I would have been a loser - I can't thank them enough!" (Case 029)

A Negro student who just won a substantial scholarship to an outstanding university commented that ABC was:

> "The best thing that has happened in my 17 years. It's given me a new future and helped me to know about people, not just ones I grew up with." (Case 059)

An outstanding Puerto Rican boy who had been a leader in his school, yet had encountered problems with prejudice and discrimination, said:

> "The things that (the school) does are so much bigger than the problems that obscure them. They are still there but this is so much more important. It's a good thing for what it is going to do for my life and for what it has already done for me mentally and physically. I've been proud of the ABC boys I know. They're doing a good job. I don't think this program could be improved. It is the best! It couldn't have been better." (Case 067)

A Negro boy who came from a broken and severely disrupted home, and who had some quite critical things to say about his school, still commented that the program's total effect on his life was:

> "Great, not good, great! It gave me what I was looking for: the experience with people, the experience with school. Without it I wouldn't have had the goals I do now. There have been no bad consequences. It hasn't complicated my life: I've faced a lot harder things before. I think it's great! I'm proud of what the boys are doing and that I know them and I'm trying to do the same." (Case 070)

This is but a small sampling of the many truly enthusiastic responses. As we consider the positive gains reported we will see more of the reasons for these remarkably positive attitudes.

An example of a more moderate or mixed comment would be:

> "It's been a good thing. The opportunities are better, but I still have some reservations and considerations. I miss my old type of life. I enjoy more being my old self at home than being here." (Case 055)

This boy also commented that he felt that other ABC boys he knew did not seem as happy as formerly, that they were discouraged and didn't want to change. He also felt that 90% of the boys didn't know what they were getting into.

Another student who has had a difficult adjustment academically and socially commented:

> "At first I didn't like (school). I blamed ABC for getting me mixed up in this, but this was before I realized education was a greater necessity. I don't like the adjustment. It has been hard, but I feel that educationally it is probably worthwhile." (Case 060)

There were a small number of boys who felt Project ABC's effect on their lives had been predominantly harmful and regretted attending preparatory school. One student said:

> "I have serious questions. It's not all bad, but it's not all good either. Sometimes I do wish I had gone to high school, I feel I could have gotten better marks and had a better social life. I feel I would like to have a better grade average. I feel

> it will be harder to get into college now. I'm beginning to get afraid of college boards. I think I would have been as well prepared at home. I prefer the freedom at home. I would have done more reading at home and had a better vocabulary. I miss social life. It has bothered me that there are no girls here. I miss parties Friday and Saturday nights." (Case 052)

One of the most extreme statements as to the detrimental effect on his life came from a student who was not being asked back to preparatory school for his third year. This boy was extremely bright but had consistently been apathetic and unmotivated in his work despite considerable attention from his teachers. He commented:

> "They try to help you out. The headmaster has really gone out of his way. They've tried to make me work, but this has been bad for me. I don't think I'm in good shape now. I'm not getting good grades here. I feel pretty lousy: disappointed and afraid. I'm getting kicked out of here. I really like the school here and I don't think I'll have as good a chance...This has been bad in its effect. It gave me a chance to get into a school like this and I muffed it. If you muff it you're in worse way than before if you never had a chance. It's my own fault, not the fault of ABC: they did more good than bad. It hasn't been good at all!" (Case 024)

A few other boys were as distressed, but the total number feeling this upset was very small. Fortunately, as will be seen when we study the drop-out students in Chapter 9, the long-term effects do not appear to have been as damaging as this excerpt would make it sound. It is clear, however, that those students who did poorly in the schools generally experienced considerable emotional distress.

REPORTED POSITIVE CHANGES. The boys were asked whether they felt they had changed much during the two years and the nature of the changes, good or bad. The degree of reported change was classified as follows:

53%	Definitely yes, a lot
22%	Somewhat, slight changes
17%	Not much, perhaps a little
7%	Definitely not
1%	Don't know

The majority of the changes reported were in a positive direction. These reported positive changes could be classified in the following categories:

53%	Academic improvement, know more, smarter
40%	More aware and perceptive of others
39%	More direction, higher goals, raised horizons
33%	Wider cultural background, exposed to more
28%	More at ease, gained confidence
22%	More self-aware, better self-understanding

22%	More aware and concerned politically and in current events
21%	More tolerant, accepting of diversity, less prejudiced
15%	More articulate, better able to express self
3%	Improved his relationship and attitude toward authority figures

As might be expected from the reported enthusiasm of many students regarding the overall effects of the program, the positive changes cited were long and full for many students.

It is worthwhile to consider the reported positive changes in detail. They indicate the considerable success of the program in the view of many participating students. For analysis it would be convenient to present statements made by various students under the categories just listed. But to do so would break the individual character of the changes reported by different boys. Instead we will present a number of representative statements showing the variety of positive changes reported by different boys. One Negro boy reported:

> "I feel more competent than I did before. I feel more ready to attack problems...I'm less quiet now and express myself better...I look at life more realistically - really looking at it...I feel more an individual than I before: more me, not just one of those guys. There was some problem of conformity but I think I handled it and feel pretty much at peace. I'm more realistic now and really look at life and assess things more carefully. I have developed more racial pride of being a Negro than I had before. There's more awareness of the world's problems and that I'm part of them and they are part of me. There's the matter of facing the fact that you are a Negro when you're not just among Blacks. People seem to like me better as I stand up and recognize myself as a Negro. People here want me to be myself." (Case 006)

Another boy from a rough neighborhood whose brother had gotten into trouble with the police commented:

> "My likes and dislikes have changed as far as social things go. I was close to getting in with the wrong group at home. Fun would have been drinking and stealing cars. Now I've found different things to do and learn and appreciate, like good plays. People at home might think I'm square, but they just haven't come in contact. I have more of a chance of realizing my goals in life. All I have to do is work to get them. Before it would have been more difficult.
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> "The White population is not as different as I assumed. The faculty here are willing to help and are friendlier. I've gotten to feel more free and easy." (Case 025)

Another boy said:

> "I've started thinking about the future very much. I've started thinking about others too, like my Mother - I wish she could have had a lot better than she did. I try to analyze people more to see what makes them tick and I'm more aware of people. I think I have matured a lot - at a greater pace because of Dartmouth and here - I'm more selfless, and want to help people and have more realization that I'm not number one.
>
> "I've broadened. I used to think: high school, college, job, retirement, that's it! Now I feel that everyone has a purpose and should do something worthwhile sometime, some place, somewhere along the way.
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> "Before I went to Dartmouth and came here I only felt comfortable with colored people. Now I can feel comfortable with anyone. It's exposure and finding that they aren't all bad and that we are alike.
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> "It's a good thing, it's been just that incident that changed things. I found out someone cares about me and that has made me want to care about others. The problems in life seem bigger here and I'm more aware; but before I couldn't cope as well with them."
>
> (Case 038)

A boy from the rural south commented:

> "My interests have changed. They used to be just athletics, now it's academics and broader interests. I've grown a lot physically and mentally. I am learning more and meeting more people. I see the world in a different light. I can see myself in a better way and have a better chance. I can be a better person in life and not have to worry about the small things my parents did.
>
> "I used to think all Whites were bad, now I feel there are good ones. At home they push you in the street and swear at you. Here it is just the opposite, at first I distrusted them. I didn't believe they were sincere; I feel I can trust them now.
>
> "I used to think the main thing was to stay alive and make a living, now I think there is more to helping other people. This has bettered my condition and relation to other people. It has taken me from slums at home, put a carrot in front of my nose and said: 'If you want it, work for it, you've got every chance.' That's good. In ABC I've met boys from other parts of the country. They showed me life wasn't all bad and not just one big struggle."
>
> (Case 043)

This boy was concerned about the Federal cutbacks that he had heard affected this and similar programs, as were a number of other boys.

And finally a further excerpt from the comments of another boy on positive changes:

> "My whole outlook on life has changed. Before I was just satisfied to take what comes, now I am thinking more positively. Now I have a goal I'm trying to reach. I've made up my mind to reach this goal no matter what the setbacks, and try not to be discouraged. I want to be a prominent businessman.
>
> "Being in this type of community has changed my whole outlook. Before I was very narrow-minded and would just stick to one point, now I look at both sides.
>
> "Being a Negro in the south I have felt the White man was the oppressor, that no matter what was done the Negro was oppressed. I still say that is true to some degree, but the Negro himself has a responsibility to change. Things are going to take time.
>
> "Until ABC I had no specific goals. I thought I was born to a certain position and that I would always stay there. Now I see a man is what he makes himself. The study skills have helped. I'm concerned with my own future. I can do it myself, and am not just imbedded in a rut from the beginning." (Case 047)

Reviewing the interviews, one is impressed by the large per cent of the students who report these positive changes and the similarity of many comments. Either the program has been unusually successful in attaining its goals or the ABC students have become remarkably well indoctrinated in reciting the formulas of Liberal White America, - perhaps both. These changes can be important gains provided they are consolidated and realized in the future. Obviously as was indicated in the general comments at the beginning of the chapter how an observer regards these changes will depend very much on his perspective and values. To the "Left" it will be clear that these students have sold out or been bought over. To the "Right" it will appear that they have learned the virtues and rewards of hard work and the benefits to be obtained in the system. The "Moderate" probably will feel that these boys have gained some perspective on both the benefits and problems of the existing system and will be concerned lest it not fail them and others similarly aspiring. At any rate these themes of greater aspiration, increased self-awareness and self-confidence, and more tolerance were the recurrent positive changes reported by the ABC boys.

REPORTED NEGATIVE CHANGES. Negative changes were less frequently reported. However, some important ones emerged and they are related to some of the psychological test changes that will be reported later in the chapter. The reported negative changes were classified in the following categories:

26%	More tense and anxious
15%	Discouraged by own limitations, feelings of defeat or wanting to give up
10%	Less drive and dedication
8%	Alienated, cynical, disillusioned

7% Smug, complacent, snobbish
3% More withdrawn socially

Increased anxiety and tension were reported by a quarter of the students. In most cases the reports were relatively mild. However, there were a few cases in which the increase in anxiety was marked. One case that will be recalled from the previous faculty comments involved a boy for whom the school was much concerned. As will be seen from his comments they had good reason to be. In the discussion regarding his academic work when he had been asked regarding his satisfaction or dissatisfaction he had commented:

> "I'm dissatisfied. My grades have gone down recently. Now comes the bombshell! I have a nice new defense system in my mind. I won't let things in my mind, I'm blocking things off. My mind doesn't function well. My ability to think is greatly diminished. I lose my drive and feel like I'm dead. There's a lot of conflict. I've just gotten tied up emotionally."

His social adjustment to the school had been very difficult. He disliked both the boys and the general social atmosphere. In this respect he stated:

> "I have been persecuted once or twice. They were baiting me racially: it was not name-calling but more subtle, like cracking jokes...People 'borrow' things and don't return them. I get suspicious and get the feeling other people live more in my room than I do.
>
> "I feel under pressure to conform, I don't like it. These guys are narrow-minded. The atmosphere is still what it was intended to be: an early 1900's WASP school - that is still here. That is where I feel trapped and set up a block. It's hardest in the winter term, there is nothing to look forward or back to. I don't particularly like it here. It's a means of achieving an end. I'm just sticking it out and I can, but I get tied up in knots.
>
> "It's been hard to adjust here. I fight to keep my own mind. I don't like to be tampered with, I don't want to lose my 'Soul'. (Not be whitewashed?) That's it! I don't like to be pushed into a mold. I don't like the WASPY picture. I'm not sure exactly why, I've puzzled over it. I don't like their feeling of contentment and satisfaction.
>
> "There is a loss of self-respect. They expect me to be too grateful. I resent the feeling 'you should be grateful'." (Case 046)

This boy showed the most conflict of any student interviewed. He was manifestly anxious and presenting disturbing symptoms. (This was the only case where it was necessary to violate the confidential nature of the student interviews, in order to appraise the school that they were justified in their concern about his emotional state and that they should obtain the professional help they had planned.) Eventually, in his third year, this boy dropped out of the school.

A few other drop-out students also presented disturbing symptoms as will be reported in Chapter 9. However, these were more in the form of withdrawal and apathy rather than acute conflict and anxiety.

Emotional disturbance is a complex outcome of predispositions and prior learned patterns in conjunction with stressful life circumstances. How much the strains of ABC and preparatory school are "responsible" for the few cases of marked emotional disturbance is hard to say - but certainly the transitions and challenges had not made life any easier for these boys. However, the writer found the number of boys with emotional problems fewer than he had anticipated. Any educational institution or program unfortunately must expect some students to have serious emotional problems. The number of serious problems encountered in the course of the follow-up study of Project ABC was lower than might be expected considering the challenging transition. This undoubtedly is a reflection of the kind of prior selection of the ABC students. As has been described in earlier chapters most were unusual boys in the kinds of personal strengths they possess. It is fortunate that this has been the case.

While severe anxiety and tension were rare, milder degrees were relatively common. As indicated 26% of the ABC boys reported themselves feeling more tense and anxious than formerly. This should come as no great surprise. (Indeed it is probably a good sign that one-quarter of the students were aware of and able to admit these feelings.) Any situation where one confronts the new and unknown and where one's previous adjustments and sense of self are altered is threatening and can cause tension and anxiety. The ABC boys have been so challenged, but there may be additional features of the increased "tension" many report. Part of such tension may in fact be a negative aspect of the increased ambition and aspiration that seemed so positive! For when one hopes and aspires, one also necessarily becomes vulnerable and worries. One cannot be committed to future goals without facing the possibility of their disappointment. Many of these boys had begun to want things and work for things to which they never before had aspired. This positive gain was also a burden.

To see the basis for these speculations regarding the sources of these increases in anxiety and tension, let us again turn to the boys' own testimony. First we will consider some comments indicative of the heightened anxiety and tension resulting from the difficulties of adjusting to a new academic and social environment. One student who had a low academic average and had not become particularly involved in the social life of his school, reflected some of these problems. First, talking about the academic difficulties he stated:

> "It's hard, the work is more involved and difficult and I have lots of work to complete. I cannot fall behind. I am not doing as good a job as I should...It's hard to express myself, I am afraid to seem like a fool and say the wrong thing."

He had also encountered racial prejudice and felt that his fellow students made fun of people from different backgrounds. He stated:

> "I am more wary now about White people, more cautious. Before I never knew blindly prejudiced people but now I have run into some; so I am more cautious. I don't like the adjustment, it has been hard but I feel that educationally its probably worthwhile." (Case 060)

Certainly for many boys difficulties in adjusting to the new social situation and peer group were significant factors in their increased anxiety. In the last chapter we indicated some of the kinds of social adjustment difficulties. They clearly were factors in the increased anxiety reported by some of the boys. A Puerto Rican boy who had difficulty with peers indicated the kind of problems it had created for him:

> "Before I came here I had more self-confidence. There have been bad changes. I have lost self-confidence. My confidence is falling down. I am afraid I will say something wrong or obvious in class. The attitude of the boys doesn't help...The students here didn't take to me the way I'd like and I didn't like them...The students are immature, they giggle and laugh when I say something, it bothers me, it's disrespectful and childish. Some of the boys are prejudiced, I overhear their talk. I feel they aren't friendly. They will say things when they pass or make a grimace. When I'm not doing well in the class I feel I don't belong. It's been extremely hard."
> (Case 077)

The degree of social maladjustment and strain was certainly not as marked in most cases, however, many boys did dislike some of the attitudes of their classmates and the hazing that they encountered or observed. This aspect of school life would seem to account for the greater tension and anxiety for a significant proportion of the students.

Another important source of the increased anxiety and tension was the greater degree of academic pressure under which the students found themselves. More was expected and demanded of them. To survive academically they had to alter and raise their standards. As discussed in Chapter 5 the challenges in this regard were great and many of the ABC students appeared to have made marked changes. In many respects these changes were positive and beneficial, but they had been difficult and the gains come at a price. A Negro student who has been doing very well socially and making good academic gains said:

> "I feel I have obligations to keep up my work and to not let people down. I feel lousy when I am not doing all that I can...Sometimes I worry that I might turn out a failure later on, that everything won't work out and that I would be disappointed in myself and that others would be too. I do think about it, but it's not a huge worry. I'm more responsible and

> have grown up. I take things more seriously. Everything is not just one big joke. I think about the future." (Case 037)

Another student throughout the course of his interview indicated the difficulty of both the academic and social adjustment and the resulting increase in worry and tension:

> "It's difficult. The work here is harder by all means. I cannot slack off because my grades will drop fast. I have to study here, there is no choice. I'm never satisfied whatever I do. I feel I could do better. I'm doing poorer than I expected. I had been used to A's and B's in public school, here I am getting C's and D's. Sometimes I get discouraged. I break my back just to get a C and other boys lay around and get B's...I study much more than the majority of kids at this school. I am pushing to stay high. It's hard to push week after week. I'm constantly working and trying to improve and please all teachers.
>
> "I dislike the poor table manners and dog-eat-dog atmosphere here. People just seem to care for themselves. You have to let people know where you stand. You have to measure up to par here. The kids brag, there is a lot of big talk. There are a lot of nervous kids at this school. They start shaking and it drives you to a wall. A lot have family problems.
>
> "Being on scholarship is a burden because you cannot slack off, because somebody's paying. Even if you don't know them you feel you can't slack off, that more is expected of you.
>
> "I am more worried, I think where do I go from here. It really does trouble me." (Case 021)

Another student, who has done quite well academically and made a fine social adjustment, in discussing the bad changes in himself said:

> "I get too serious about some things. I worry too much. I feel a little too responsible at times. I feel a little too like a robot or computer that has to be doing something all the time. It's harder to relax. I'm always working and have a lot of push and momentum, so it's hard to let go. This is really the only bad thing. I do worry more and am more preoccupied all the time. I worry that something will happen. I have given so much for the future I want - will it come or will it be all for nothing?" (Case 071)

Another major grouping of responses to the question of negative changes included discouragement, feelings of defeat, and wanting to give up. Instances have already been given of this pattern. The group for whom this kind of response was particularly marked was the drop-outs, as would be expected. Detailed consideration of the "drop-out" students will be presented in Chapter 9; for now we will simply quote one drop-out student to indicate the nature of such feelings of discouragement. This boy, a southern Negro, reported that he had been unhappy and homesick from the time of arrival at the school. He said he was "kind of depressed for some reason". He never could become accustomed to doing the homework and could not concentrate. His academic work gave him trouble from the beginning and it kept getting worse and worse:

> "First I was depressed about being away from home and later about my work; I just couldn't work like I thought I should...I just felt dumb at school. I just felt dumb to myself. I couldn't understand why I was sent there. I don't know how my IQ can be so good because I feel dumb. It bothered me that I couldn't do like I wanted. I felt dumb. I couldn't concentrate. I couldn't read as fast as I should in a school like that...
>
> "At the beginning of the second year I still didn't seem to fit in. I had no close associations. I didn't feel at home. I was depressed, couldn't really talk to anybody. I felt kind of numb... depressed and blue. I made up my mind, I was determined to go back home." (Case 011)

A number of the drop-out students who had severe academic problems gave similar descriptions. As has been indicated some of the boys continuing in school and doing poorly were also becoming discouraged.

A further negative change reported by some ABC boys (about 10%) was decreased drive and dedication. These students reported that they had gone into an academic slump. The reasons some gave was social homogeneity and lack of intellectual stimulation at their school. While only a few students were outspokenly critical of their schools in this regard, there were additional ones who for one reason or another had a drop in their academic motivation. One boy reported that after his exhausting initial summer at Dartmouth, he had never been able to get going:

> "I guess the summer program was somewhat beneficial but not outstandingly so. It sort of tired me out before going back to school. When I got finished I was tired out and it took me a term to get going here. It tired me out because I wasn't used to work.
>
> "Here I have been up and down in grades. I felt very uneasy. I found it hard at first and wasn't really working. It's a lot harder and we get a lot of extra things we didn't in public school...I'm pretty dissatisfied...At times I'm pretty sure, at other times things go wrong and mess up. I feel under more pressure here to be well rounded and more pressure makes it harder for me to work. It's hard to concentrate. I haven't reached anywhere near potential. I feel I am doing a really poor job.
>
> "I lost a lot of the drive I had before. Now it's beginning to come back, but after Dartmouth I

> lost drive. I realized I hadn't made my goals yet and was frustrated to have to be struggling so...this loss of drive is bad. I'm not working. I have a feeling of frustration. If I work as hard as I can I still don't attain it." (Case 018)

For other boys the decline in grades was a slump that occurred after they had made it successfully through the first year. Asked about his satisfaction or dissatisfaction regarding his work one such boy had commented:

> "I'm very dissatisfied. I could do a lot better. I don't put that much time in. I just don't do as much as I should. I'm getting worse. I studied more last year. I felt I had to study more last year than this year...I've been going down lately in a spring slump." (Case 054)

Some of the students reported that their two years in the school had made them more alienated, cynical and disillusioned. These students quite naturally included those most critical of the atmosphere and values of the preparatory schools. In the last chapter we saw some of the kinds of criticisms they and other students made regarding the social atmosphere of the schools. Here we will briefly note the kind of personal effect it had on the student previously quoted as probably the most alienated boy:

> "I'm doing a little poorer than I expected academically. There's a general change in my values as a student. I'm no longer as enthused as a student, no longer put as much value on cramming extra knowledge in my head. I feel a little bit disdainful toward people that limit themselves to studies the way I used to. I am trying to be more than just a pedant. I can get a lot of things outside class. I listen to music by myself and appreciate it.
>
> "I'm working a little less. My grades are going down a tiny bit. My rank has declined. I'm just not as interested. I'm more interested in outside things and you don't get much of that here. I feel frustrated by the limitations of the academic program and the way they run the school. There's a big difference. I work a lot less hard. I'm not as interested in school work and courses. I keep up but I'm not doing all that I could. I am disappointed I came...
>
> "I've changed a great deal. I'm more questioning and more open to finding out more things. I have a feeling of having to overcome the closing of thoughts in this narrow environment. Perhaps these are bad changes. There has been a lowering of my standards. It's both bad and good but some would see it as only bad." (Case 008)

A small percentage of the students were troubled by feelings of smugness, complacency and snobbery they felt growing in themselves. One Negro student, whose academic work was good and who had been very active in responsible school positions, disliked some of the changes he saw in himself:

> "I am a lot less insecure, a lot less hypersensitive. I have more liking and appreciation for people in general but I have learned how to be sarcastic. Some things rub off like dye here and you can't wash them off. You get condescending and have to watch it." (Case 059)

An Indian boy from a background of extreme poverty and hardships talked about the problems in the descrepancy between his former and present life and how it affected him:

> "I feel different. Here everything is so organized and clean. It is dirty at home and we have to use old things. Things get broken and we have to use them - there is no other way. I would be embarassed to tell my friends here how bad it is at home. The boys here have servants and cars of their own. I can't even drive.
>
> "My Mother tries to make me happy when I get back. My brother had a chance to come but he didn't want to come. He's afraid of me and doesn't talk to me. He thinks I am so much smarter that he avoids me. My Mother said I've grown taller and wear better clothes. She's afraid to wash my clothes with the family's because she's afraid she'll ruin them...There is a contrast. Most Indian boys drop out of school, just play around and get into trouble and drinking. I think it's pretty bad and it bothers me. There is nobody to encourage them. I feel superior. I feel that the others are inferior and lazy and that bothers me. I feel those at home are inferior, yet I know they couldn't help it. I too was afraid."
>
> (Case 048)

GENERAL ATTITUDE CHANGES. Specific questions were asked about any attitude changes that might have occurred. The specific attitude changes reported by the ABC boys were classified as:

50%	More aware of people around him and how he relates to them, more self-aware
40%	Raised goals and ambitions, broadened horizons
29%	More aware of social class differences and influences, variety of life styles
26%	Life more rich and rewarding
26%	More tolerant, understands others perspectives better, more aware of own biases
24%	More aware of life's complexity, problems and difficulties
6%	More cynical and bitter, more critical

Most of these themes have already emerged in the discussion of the reported personal changes, so they need not be elaborated here.

CHANGES IN ATTITUDE TOWARD FAMILY AND COMMUNITY. The boys were asked a number of questions regarding their relationship to their family and home community and how it might have changed. The initial questions concerned the amount of family contact they had maintained. For the group the reported frequency of family visits to the school was:

29%	Never
26%	Rarely, once or twice only in two years
33%	Occasionally, a few times a year
6%	Frequently, monthly or more often
6%	Lives at home with family

The reported frequency of the boy's visits home was:

3%	On summer vacations only
90%	Most major holidays and vacations
1%	Every weekend
6%	Lives at home with family

Their reports on how often they wrote letters home were:

7%	Never
4%	Rarely, hardly ever
10%	Monthly
26%	Every other week
39%	Weekly
8%	More than once a week
6%	Not applicable (lives at home)

It is clear that except for the few students who lived at home while attending preparatory school, the transition to the independent schools meant for most students that they saw rather little of their families except on major vacations. Most wrote home fairly often. A few, but not many, occasionally telephoned.

Their reported feelings toward the family were:

51%	Just the same
26%	Closer, more appreciative
10%	Mixed, closer in some ways, more distant in others
12%	More distant, more critical

The students were asked if they found any difficulties or problems adjusting from school to home and back again. Their responses were distributed as follows:

40%	No, no difficulties, adjusts easily to both places
15%	Some slight difficulties, not very hard
25%	Yes, very much so, difficult to come to school
13%	Yes, very much so, difficult to go home
7%	Yes, very much so, difficult transition both ways

About half reported no difficulties or just slight difficulties in adjusting to the transitions between home and school, but for the other half the transitions were definitely difficult. The ABC boys were asked whether their families thought they had changed and how they felt about such changes. Responses were as follows:

38%	No, no changes at all, none mentioned
7%	Perhaps some changes
26%	Some mixed changes noted
36%	Yes, very definite changes

Of the students reporting changes that had been commented on by the family, the majority of comments indicated positive evaluation: e.g. that the students were more mature or smarter, more considerate, etc. About 20% of the students indicated some unfavorable comments: e.g. the student was more opinionated, liked to run around more, or snobbish. The reports generally suggested the complaints, if any, were about "normal" adolescent developments and changes. Generally the boys' responses indicated that they had not experienced great difficulty in their relationships with their families as a result of their transition to preparatory schools.

The boys were asked on their return home during vacations whether they saw much of their old friends. Their responses were as follows:

39%	Yes, very definitely, a lot
22%	Some, occasionally
22%	Rarely
17%	No, never, avoids them, has none

Among the students who did see their friends friends frequently it was often spontaneously reported that these friends were either other ABC students or other ambitious college-bound students. We have already noted that the ABC boys tended to be already somewhat marginal in their communities and upon return home on vacations they continued to associate primarily with their own atypical friends. The boys were asked how they now got along with their old friends. The responses were:

45%	Very well, excellent relationship, still very close
15%	Pretty well, still friends
16%	Fells a bit apart
24%	Feels very much apart, does not belong any more

Thus about half of the students felt no great changes in their former relationships but one-quarter felt that they had definitely been broken.

The students were asked about their feelings concerning their home communities. On this question there seemed to be a higher degree of "blocking" and in most cases less "yield" than on other questions asked. In some instances the boys were very full and detailed regarding their feelings about their home communities, but most often the answers were rather perfunctory and the students did not seem eager to expand or elaborate in detail. At any rate the classification of responses on their feelings concerning their home neighborhood was:

11%	Very favorable
11%	Moderately favorable
37%	Neutral or mixed
19%	Moderately critical
22%	Extremely critical

In most cases the descriptions and comments were sparse with critical comments more predominant than favorable ones. Criticisms and negative evaluations of the home neighborhood were made in the following proportions:

29%	Peoples' lack of ambition, apathy
24%	Slum, run-down, dirty
10%	Crime, delinquency, lawlessness
6%	Lack of cultural and intellectual facilities and interests

The positive comments on the home neighborhood and people were fewer. In the total group, the various positive features of home community mentioned were:

8%	Friendliness and warmth
4%	Vitality, color, "Soul", excitement
3%	Cultural and recreational facilities

The kinds of comments regarding home and community will be suggested by some excerpts from the interviews. In contrast to preceding questions on personal changes where the problem was to select the most representative statements out of the wealth of very full responses, here the problem is one of examining the much sparser material on attitudes toward home and community to get some sense of how the students were feeling. Most of the teachers had reported that few of the ABC boys had much to say about home, but often also added that the majority of prep school boys tended to be rather reticent on the subject. First let us look at some of the positive comments. One Southern student, whose mother and aunt had visited his New England preparatory school twice and who got home only on the main holidays, commented:

> "At home I look at people more. I appraise it more. My sisters seem more like human beings, real people. I feel more of a loyalty to home and my town than I ever did before...The adjustment back and forth is pretty much automatic. My family says I'm about the same as I was before. I do argue more about things: intellectual arguments, not obstinate ones. They tease me about my New England accent...I feel closer with my old friends than before, I'm surprised... I feel I improved myself. It feels good, it's home; but I see the poverty more than I ever did. I'm more aware of the poverty and its seriousness and that something should be done." (Case 006)

Another student, whose mother had visited his school a few times and who returned home only for major vacations, when asked if he felt different when at home responded:

> "Not that much. You do need to get reacquainted with friends. You feel great that you come from a big school. Your friends say: keep up the good work! You find you like home a little bit more than you used to. And you miss your brothers and sisters - that's not easy to do, but you do! There's a little bit of a transition but not a big problem...They say I'm still

> me. There's a little bit of teasing. My brothers and sisters say: 'You think you're good, you don't want to associate with us.' I tell them to think what they want...I don't see much of my old friends because my family moved. Things just look regular, not different. I don't think it's a bad place, not a bad neighborhood." (Case 009)

Another student said:

> "I'm always happy to go home. I don't feel any different about them. I feel freer at home. There's no schedule and lots of parties so I find it a relief to get home. It's freer and the parties are fun. Yet I look forward to come back to school. There are no problems either way...
>
> "The family says I've changed but they haven't said how...
>
> "I definitely see a lot of my old friends when I get back. We get along fine, there are no problems... Things look the same at home, no changes." (Case 052)

The feelings of some students regarding home and community were somewhat more mixed and ambivalent. One boy reported:

> "As a Negro whose family was raised in the south I do feel a little further away from them each time I go home. I do feel a little bit above them. I detest the feeling and don't like this aspect of the program. I try to make it up to them and go along with what they want. It bothers me a great deal. I'm more aware of the finer things in life than they are. Yet they have done a tremendous job considering where they started. I don't have the right to feel as I do. Sometimes I wish I could be my normal self again!
>
> "At home I can associate with all the old groups; the good students, the average ones, and the kids that run around in the streets. I still feel close to them. I lived there eight years. It used to be mainly White, not it's predominantly Negro. My parents want to move so Sis can go to another high school. Things are getting worse. I hate to see it, the Negroes are pushed in one section and the Whites run out. It's getting slummy and people are selling out. I get pretty upset about it.
>
> "...I've gained a lot, things I wouldn't trade for anything. I just cannot describe how much it means to me now and how much it will later. I have a better shot at attaining goals I've set in life, but there are things I have lost too. I've missed two years of 'action', slang and dances. I feel out of it. I haven't become a snob, but the possibility that I could bothers me." (Case 007)

Another student whose family had been quite disrupted expressed his ambivalence regarding home and community:

> "I'm really glad to get there. I look at them in a different way and I'm aware there's more. I had a good childhood, but it would have been easier if there hadn't been a divorce. I have drifted away, yet I feel closer to them emotionally. I love them and they gave me my start.
>
> "It's depressing when I know I'm coming back to school, but it also takes a couple of days to adjust when I come home too...My family thinks I'm both more reserved and more outspoken. I don't accept as much and I question more...
>
> I see my old friends. We have a lot in common and they are serious students going on to college. I get along well with them.
>
> "I really get mad at some people at home. I'm not tolerant of those who are lazy and don't care. It may not be all their fault but they have some responsibility. They have to try - it can be done! It bothers me that it doesn't change. They have to start sometime. They shouldn't shoot for janitor, they should set their sights higher. Things affect me a lot more, I'm more serious. A lot of people are failing in life. I worry about the world. A lot troubles me: the way men treat each other. Maybe the way men treat each other can be changed, I think a lot of people are beginning to feel that way."
>
> (Case 070)

Another student whose attitudes were mixed was a Puerto Rican boy from New York City. He was very close to his family, but highly critical of his home community:

> "My family visited the school once - my Mother, sister, and brother. They fixed up some rooms for them at the infirmary and all the teachers loved them. They really got a different conception of Americans. They found it's not like New York City where all the people seem like machines and don't care. They really liked it...
>
> "I don't feel different about my family. I talk to my brother about what he should do. They are all proud of me. My Mother is sick and has to work too hard. She has no choice, she has to work. I have to get us out of that position and climb up and help Mother...They think I'm a little superior or high. Maybe they're right. But after learning so much, I feel other people could learn and don't. They don't take their opportunities, so I do feel some superior.
>
> "It's hard socially when I go home. I don't feel at home with the kids. It takes a while to fit in.

> ...I have dropped all my old social life. All my old girlfriends are bad girls. I was in a good class, but the girls now have love affairs. They're getting pregnant and are not married, and go to bad parties. The boys play hookey, cut classes, destroy property and steal. Some have guns and some smoke reefers. I keep away, I don't want enemies. I'm afraid they will take my sister in an elevator and treat her badly.
>
> "My old neighborhood is bad; the boys don't see the value of school and have no moral values. It's really upsetting. I see the guys and get upset. They just don't know what they're doing." (Case 067)

Some students felt estranged from both their families and their communities. Disruption of ties with the family seemed to occur more often where there was already a history of family conflict. One student whose family appeared close to breaking up reported:

> "There's always more conflict with the family when I go home. My Father is not helping me much and there are family problems. My older brother didn't go to college. My sisters are having troubles. There are a lot of family conflicts and he is bitter and feels all his children are turning against him. Once I had been close to my Father, but there is just too much fighting and conflict at home. I feel more comfortable at school and don't have to cope with all those problems. There are a lot fewer problems here than at home. There is more freedom here too, my Father is rather strict. Sometimes they say I'm a smart aleck. If I correct them they say 'you're so superior' and they get offended.
>
> "When I go home I look at the difference between my neighborhood and here, it's quite a contrast. My old friends are getting into trouble, getting to an age of stealing cars and drinking. Smoking pot is common. They sniff glue and drink cough medicine. I feel sorry for them. I realize how lucky I am to be here. They won't amount to anything...My younger brother is in with the wrong crowd. He doesn't do any school work. He's just fourteen but is drinking. At his age it can only get worse." (Case 025)

A similar picture was given by another boy:

> "When I'm home on vacation I hardly see them. I go to my Grandmother's and cousin's for awhile but I really just see my Mother. I see a few old friends and mainly I'm dating. I don't feel as closely related to the family and don't spend enough time with them, I spend more time dating. My Grandmother thinks I should spend more time with my Mother. My Father and Mother are separated and it's boring to see my Father. We get together once a week and just sit around doing nothing...

> "I have lost all my male friends. They are sniffing glue and smoking reefers. A lot are in big trouble. They hate school, and I think: 'Boy you're a big man working in a factory'. My old block is a center for hoods and junkies, guys who think they are big but are really nothing. Not that I am snobbish, but what can you think about a guy who puts a needle in his arm!" (Case 001)

Considering the bad conditions in the communities that many boys came from, there is little wonder that many do feel very much apart.

Overall, the changes in attitude toward family and home community were varied. A large number of ABC boys reported their feelings were unchanged, while some felt closer and more appreciative and some felt further apart and more critical. Though a few boys felt closer to their old communities; it appears that considerably more had become critical. As noted, the number of boys answering in detail regarding their feelings was considerably lower on this subject than on other topics discussed. It was the writer's impression that this was a topic that many of the boys preferred to avoid - however, this necessarily was an inference. Though a few students indicated that returning home was distressing, most appeared bland and matter-of-fact discussing the transition. Of course many writers on social role have noted how readily people can move in different social environments and act accordingly without great conflicts. Probably this is the case here; but one still wonders how the alterations occur with so little evident discomfort according to the reports of most of the boys.

CHANGES IN INTERESTS AND IN VOCATIONAL AND EDUCATIONAL PLANS. It will be recalled that according to the faculty reports there had been rather little in the way of development of new interests by the ABC boys. Only in a few cases had there appeared to be great growth of interests. The students themselves were asked regarding new interests and their responses tended to support the faculty reports. The boys' responses regarding growth of new interests were:

26%	No, has not developed any new interests
2%	No, but always had a wide range of interests
51%	Yes, but only in very limited fields
21%	Yes, very much so and in many fields

The boys' reports indicated somewhat greater growth in interests than the faculty had reported, but nothing really extraordinary appeared to be taking place. The areas of growth of new interests were reported by the following percentages in the total group of boys, (some mentioned more than one area):

29%	Performing arts, music, drama
19%	Reading and literature
19%	Sports and athletics
18%	Sciences
17%	Politics and current events
11%	History and social sciences
8%	Hobbies and recreational activities

It appears that some broadening and deepening of interests occurred but only for a small number was it extensive. Though a few had broad interests from the beginning and a few had developed, most were primarily concerned with academic survival and did not have much opportunity or inclination to develop in other areas.

Another subject of interest was changes in vocational plans. Would two years experience in the preparatory schools make a difference in the level and the type of occupation to which the boys aspired? In both the initial interview during the first summer and the two-year follow-up interview the students were asked about their future plans. The responses given on both occasions were classified according to level and area of the vocational plans. (Many mentioned more than one possible vocation so percentages add to more than 100; the figures indicate the per cent of all the students indicating an occupation at a given level or in a given area.) The vocational levels of the occupations aspired to by the students showed the following distribution:

ORIGINAL	FOLLOW-UP	
8%	18%	Don't know, undecided
0%	0%	Semi-skilled manual
1%	0%	Skilled manual
13%	5%	Professional athlete or entertainer
0%	0%	Unskilled white collar
0%	1%	Semi-skilled white collar
18%	35%	Skilled white collar or business
41%	21%	Semi-professional
56%	44%	Professional
0%	0%	Farming, ranching
(N=80)	(N=72)	

There were some interesting shifts. A higher percentage of the students became "undecided" than originally Fewer were interested in professional athletics or entertainment, more became interested in skilled white-collar (managerial) or business jobs and there was a drop in semi-professional and professional interests. The changes become even clearer when we look into the shifts in areas of vocations aspired to:

ORIGINAL	FOLLOW-UP	
8%	18%	Don't know, undecided
68%	35%	Science and technology
18%	19%	Law
14%	11%	Medicine
13%	5%	Sports or entertainment
5%	13%	Humanities, literature, performing arts
11%	17%	Business
9%	3%	Military service or academies
15%	17%	Teaching
(N=80)	(N=72)	

There was a marked drop in the percentage of students considering careers in science and technology - originally 68% mentioned such vocations but in the follow-up only 35% did, thus more than a third had lost interest in this area. Sports and entertainment declined, as did interests in a military career. The areas that showed increase were: 1) humanities, literature and the performing arts, and 2) business.

Thus the major changes were decreased interests in science and technology for many students, and for some students increased interests in the humanities or business.

On both occasions the students were asked their personal appraisal of what their chances were. The distribution on this personal appraisal on chances for achieving desired vocational goals was:

ORIGINAL	FOLLOW-UP	
14%	6%	Don't know
14%	3%	Poor
15%	21%	Fair
58%	71%	Good or excellent

It is clear that generally the boys were more certain and optimistic about their vocational futures.

On the second interview the students were asked whether their vocational plans had changed since coming to preparatory school and if so, why? The distribution of responses as to whether their plans for the future had changed after entering preparatory school was:

42%	No, not at all
3%	Yes, but only in minor details
33%	Yes, some changes within same general interests
22%	Yes, very definite and radical changes in areas of interests or level of aspirations

Slightly under half reported no great changes, and slightly more than half reported some or major changes. The reasons cited for changes in vocational aspiration showed the following percentages in the total group:

26%	Change in field of interest after having more experience in area of original interest
15%	Expanded horizons, aware of new areas
10%	More aware of own limitations and weaknesses (aiming lower)
8%	More aware of own capabilities and skills (aiming higher)
3%	Aware of advantages (educational and status advantages of attending better educational institutions)
5%	More socially aware, feels more socially responsible
3%	More willing to explore and take chances

The major reason cited was that the boy's initial fantasies regarding the attractiveness of a field and his suitability for it was reduced as he had greater exposure to the area. This was particularly true for the sciences and medicine. A large number of boys had wanted to be doctors, chemists, biologists, engineers, and the like and after exposure to courses in mathematics or science discovered the subjects more difficult than they had anticipated and their own aptitudes lower. This, of course, is a common phenomenon in secondary school and college. Other students mentioned as reasons for change their greater awareness of fields and occupational possibilities and their discovery of unsuspected capacities and skills. Some students felt their abilities or talents were lower than they had assumed them to be.

Again the boys' own testimony will provide a sense of the nature of some of these developments. A large number reported their decreased interest in science because it was harder than they had anticipated. But in some cases it also came because of the emergence of other interests. One student reported:

> "I'm not really sure yet what I'll do. I think business or economics, perhaps something with money and real estate. I also think about teaching, but there's not too much money in that - perhaps in a high school, to teach English or language...I have always made out so I expect I will be fortunate, but I do get nervous and wonder 'can I make it on my own?'
>
> "I have changed plans, I had thought of medicine but my math is poor and I really gave up the medicine idea. I want Princeton or the University of Pennsylvania but I doubt I can get in. I like tradition and the Ivy League. Maybe I am shooting above my head. I wonder if I can make it on my own. I'm not sure what I will do in the future. My plans may change. I do have confidence in myself. I never have been really tremendous, but someone has always thought I'm good. I'm not sure. I do worry about making the wrong decisions. I can't afford to." (Case 007)

Another boy who had just won a full scholarship to college reported:

> "I want to go to law school. I want contact with people. I want security for my family, to make enough and be secure. So I want to go into corporation law or big business. I gave up engineering because of the math, now I'm more interested in the law. I feel confident but I do worry about job opportunities after college and also the draft. I'm more aware of what's happening around me: the draft, job opportunities, wages. The years go fast and there are a lot of important decisions." (Case 010)

As has been indicated a number of students had raised their vocational horizons and aspired to vocations that they had not considered before and held higher educational goals. One boy reported:

> "I'm still undecided; but it probably will be something in the liberal arts or in a science like chemistry. Unless something drastic happens I probably will end up in science. Before I had thought I would work in a factory or be a common laborer, now I think I can work in the professions...I hope to go to college. If I can get my grades up I hope to go to an Ivy League college. I'm also thinking about NYU. I know a man who graduated from there and there are a lot of Negroes there. I am also thinking about Howard and Fiske, they're good Negro schools. A lot of Negro professional

> men have graduated from there. I am hoping that I can get into college somehow. My interests have changed, they used to be just athletics, now it's academics and broader interests. I see the world differently." (Case 043)

The number of students reporting such changes was fairly large.

A few boys expressed heightened interest in helping others in their later life work. In some cases this orientation had been there initially and was strengthened, in others it was a new development coming from exposure to the ABC program and to the values of their school. One Negro student who had been oriented toward social action for a considerable period of time commented:

> "When I go home is when I really see the neediness, the untidyness, the ignorance. I am sorry that something isn't done. Maybe one day I will be able to influence the change or help make the changes myself. I say to myself: 'This doesn't have to be!' I would like to be a lawyer, to be a civil rights attorney. I hope there won't be a need by then, but I doubt it. The Movement could use me and I want to help...I feel I really can and expect I will do it. My plans haven't really changed." (Case 076)

A socially concerned boy of Oriental background stated:

> "I'd like to do something about my old neighborhood. I'd physically like to remodel the buildings. I'd like to bring a lot more health and social welfare into the neighborhood to help people. I'd like to see people do something for themselves. They're not getting anywhere, that is what bothers me...I'm interested in education. I'd like to teach in public and private high schools for about five years and then go into the administrative levels. I'm interested in governmental kinds of involvement in education - things like ABC or trying out new ideas for education. I'd like to change the public school system and make it more effective...These things had never occurred to me before...I feel I have a life ahead of me and want to make the best use of it...I'm more aware of what's around me and would like to make others more aware. I'm more aware of myself and feel I have to do something. I feel I owe a lot of people a lot of things. I want to do something and like to see people do things for themselves. Life is a continual involvement of people with each other. I've become aware of this. People don't realize what's around them, what they can do for themselves and for other people, - that really bothers me." (Case 051)

An American Indian boy commented:

> "I think things on the reservation should be better. I'd like them to be better and like to help. Seeing the two contrasting ways I know what I want to build my life on. The daily routines could be better, the economic situation could be better...I used to want to get rich fast, now I realize that money isn't all. I want a good family and a good house. I am concerned about my family. I can't be happy until they are happy. I want to worry about my family, my people and then myself. I am thinking about teaching math or perhaps practicing law at the federal or state level for my reservation. I also think about business, some stores with credit. I'm not just concerned with getting rich anymore, I'm more concerned with others." (Case 055)

In Chapter 5 on academic performance, there was discussion of the boys' future college plans and the appropriateness of choices based on their academic performance at that time. It will be recalled that over half the ABC students mentioned highly competitive major colleges and universities as their preferences, while the faculty members felt that such choices were appropriate in only about one-fifth of the cases. The patterns of shifts in two years on colleges being considered by the boys was as follows:

ORIGINAL	FOLLOW-UP	
26%	14%	No specific colleges mentioned
51%	51%	Ivy League
20%	57%	Other private colleges and universities
21%	21%	Major state universities
18%	6%	Engineering institutes
10%	7%	Local colleges
6%	0%	Military academies
1%	0%	Technical or vocational schools
(N=80)	(N=72)	

Clearly the main change had been that the boys were more aware of and considering applying to other private colleges and universities besides the "Ivy League" colleges. Also there had been declines in interests in institutions predominantly emphasizing engineering and in the military academies.

WORRIES CONCERNING THE FUTURE. In the follow-up interviews all of the boys were asked what they worried about concerning their future life. Their worries about the future fell in the following categories:

15%	No special worries, nothing mentioned
38%	About college, acceptances and academic aspects
25%	About eventual financial success and stability
17%	About college, financial aspects
13%	About the draft
10%	About how to help family
10%	About inability to decide on a career
7%	About some unknown force preventing success
4%	About adjustment when back home again, "identity"

4% About interpersonal relationships, getting along with people
4% About the ethical questions of life

Most worries reported in one way or another related to achievement and future success. In various ways a large number of boys indicated concern about future success. From previous comments it is evident how widespread are their desires for future success and how concerned they must necessarily be. An excerpt will reflect the typical concern expressed by so many ABC boys:

> "I am more questioning and ask what am I doing? I try to find out, but sometimes I am not sure. Should I be here? If I don't make it, will it all be a waste? Most times I feel I should do it, but sometimes I get very discouraged and feel the future's dim. I wonder how will I get into college?" (Case 009)

In connection with these achievement worries a troubling fear theme sometimes was directly expressed or often could be inferred from some of the comments. It was the strong fear on the part of some boys that they might turn out to be failures, and an almost superstitious dread that something might go wrong for them. This impression comes from such comments as:

> "I worry will I change my mind about education. I don't want anything to happen that would foul up things. I do worry too much and find it harder to relax, I always have to be working...I've always wanted a good education to get ahead and getting a good job...I do worry more and I'm more preoccupied all the time that something will happen." (Case 071)

or from another boy:

> "I think I am capable and have a good chance... But even though a lot want to help me, I worry that someone might want to hold me back. It's like a superstition. Something held my parents and grandparents back, someone or something. I don't want the feeling but I have it." (Case 070)

In various places in the interviews many students expressed the concern about their ability to "make it on my own". Many felt that they had been fortunate compared with their peers at home and wondered whether their good fortune would continue. It is hard for boys coming from backgrounds of oppression, failure, and defeat to really believe and trust their breaks. It is also true that they have good reason not to be complacent, as they cannot afford to fail. Minority group boys aware of discrimination and having lived daily in the shadow of its effects must have considerable skepticism and disbelief concerning their chances.

SUMMARY OF ABC STUDENTS REPORTS OF CHANGES. It is clear that the ABC boys felt they had changed in many ways. For most the changes were regarded as positive and beneficial; however, distinctly negative changes were reported by many students. Positive changes reported were primarily greater aspiration and more confidence in their abilities to attain their aspirations. Most felt in a variety of ways that their lives had been broadened and enriched. But the gains did not come without some personal cost; most striking appeared to be the increased level of tension, worry, and drivenness. Many boys reported themselves more concerned and anxious than formerly. We have attributed this partly to the stresses of adjusting to the new educational and social challenges, and partly to the raised achievement aspirations. How "negative" these changes are regarded, of course depends very much on one's point of view. The problems that these boys have encountered and coped with at this period of their lives may have given them capacities and strengths which will serve them well in later years. To what degree these are "normal" adolescent changes, and to what degree they result from the special circumstances of these boys is hard to state with assurance. However, the nature of much of the boys' testimony is convincing evidence that they have been in very special circumstances and exposed to influences that would cause them to change in very special ways. To try to examine this impression on the basis of more "objective" evidence we will now turn to the findings of the psychological tests.

CHANGES ON PERSONALITY AND INTEREST INVENTORIES

From the reports of both independent school faculty and ABC students we have learned of important personal changes they felt occurred in the boys during their first two years in the program. Such personal observations are of great value when considering psychological changes. However, it is also valuable to have additional evidence from some standardized measures. As with the assessment of academic changes, we wished to assess changes in personal characteristics and interests by standardized tests and inventories. These inventories were initially administered at time of application to the program (or early the first summer) and readministered in the two-year follow-up study. The tests selected have had a history of extensive developmental research and wide subsequent usage. They were chosen for their potential of providing measures on personality traits and characteristics where there might be important changes for the ABC boys. As will be seen the inventories selected have served us well. However, though there are a fair number of available inventories measuring basic personality characteristics and interests, there are few adequate inventories for studying changes in social values and attitudes for students in this age group. The few available standardized instruments attempting to assess values and social attitudes either were very specific to particular topics or, if broad, were more appropriate to college and adult populations. We considered developing new instruments, but the formidable task of standardization and validation would have taken us too far afield from the immediate research concerns. Therefore we used what was available and appropriate among the already well-developed inventories, primarily in the area of personality traits and interests. As will be seen they provided some interesting findings.

At this point it may be of interest to look back at some of our initial expectations regarding possible personal and social changes that might occur in the ABC students as a consequence of their two-year exposure to preparatory schools. Therefore, we will note some of the questions and hypotheses entertained at the time of projecting this research, and outlined in the original research proposal:

> Relative Personal and Social Changes in Project ABC Students and Controls. We want to know what happens when boys from impoverished lower-class backgrounds are moved into high status preparatory schools. What strains and problems result from such 'sponsored social mobility'? And what benefits accrue? How are values and interests altered? Are there significant personality changes? How do the ABC students come to differ from their peers who remained at home? We expect that there may be changes in the following respects:
>
> (1) Personality changes. As compared to controls, we expect ABC students to show more evidence of change in the direction of increased: (a) ego strength and emotional stability; (b) assertiveness and dominance; (c) conscientiousness and perseverance; (d) self-control and discipline. These are optimistic expectations, but the possibility of unfavorable changes will also be explored. Also, if it appears profitable, the patterns and reasons for particular kinds of changes may be explored.
>
> (2) Changes in interests, values and occupational aspirations. We expect the ABC students as contrasted with controls to show more "intellectual" (i.e. asthetic, literary, and scientific) interests. We anticipate their occupational aspirations and vocational plans will move toward more demanding and higher status positions.
>
> (3) Changes in problems and worries. We expect the ABC students to have more confidence in their future careers, have more self-confidence and social poise. (Wessman, 1965, pp. 8-9)

As will now be seen we scored some hits and some misses, but overall the answers are clearer.

CATTELL "HSPQ" PERSONALITY INVENTORY. One of the questionnaires administered in initial and follow-up testing to ABC students and matched controls was the R. B. Cattell High School Personality Questionnaire ("HSPQ"), a personality inventory for high school students related to Cattell's 16 Personality Factor Inventory. This inventory for high school students has 14 factorially derived (oblique) bipolar scales and two 2nd-order scales containing questions empirically related to major clusters in trait ratings. In everyday English this means that the traits measured by the scales in repeated research studies have been shown to group together as measures of interrelated basic personality characteristics. The inventory is designed to assess some of these major dimensions of interpersonal differences in personality. They are reasonably well validated scales (considering inherent problems of the approach) assessing such characteristics as: ego-strength, conscientiousness, assertiveness, etc.. (Accounts of the research and theoretical formulations behind the factorial scales will be found in Cattell, 1957, 1962; Baughmann & Welsh, 1962, pp. 303-377; and Hall & Lindzey, 1957, pp. 378-417.)

The two-year changes on the HSPQ are presented in Appendix C, Tables 2a and 2b. Here we will summarize the meaning of the main findings. The most important change was the marked rise in overall "Anxiety" on a variety of interrelated measures. All the related scales assessing various components of anxiety changed markedly, including statistically significant mean changes toward: "C minus; Affected by feelings, emotionally less stable, easily upset, (lower ego-strength)"; "H minus; Shy, restrained, diffident, timid (threctia)"; "O plus; Apprehensive, worrying, depressive, troubled, (guilt proneness)"; and "Q4 plus; Tense, driven, overwrought, fretful, (high ergic tension)". These anxiety related scales all show significant changes toward more anxiety, tension, and worry. These findings are for the entire group of ABC boys (Appendix C, Table 2a). In the comparison of the ABC sub-sample and matched controls the same findings tend to hold strongly for the ABC boys and to show no change for the Controls (Appendix C, Table 2b). Thus it is clear that measures of tension and anxiety significantly increased over the two year period for the ABC boys.

There was also a change toward "A plus; Outgoing, warmhearted, easygoing, participating, (cyclothymia)" but as both the ABC and Control groups showed significant rises on this score it did not appear to differentiate the ABC boys particularly. Similarly scores on "B plus; More intelligent, abstract-thinking, bright, (higher scholastic capacity)" increased for both groups; also as this scale is not age-corrected some increase would be anticipated for both groups. Another possible but not clear-cut change was movement toward "F plus; Happy-go-lucky, heedless, gay, enthusiastic (surgency)" but this did not stand out as strongly in the ABC sub-sample and control analysis. There was an additional significant change that stood out strongly in the entire group and also held in the comparison of the ABC sub-sample and Controls; this was toward "Q3 minus; Casual, careless of social rules, untidy, follows own urges, (low self-concept control)".

It looks as if some of the positive "gains" that had been initially postulated in the original research prospectus were not forthcoming. Again it seems objective standardized tests do not confirm optimistic expectations. Our task is to understand the meaning of the findings, rather than explain them away.

Some of the findings appear to contradict the generally positive picture we received from most interviews with the independent school staffs and the ABC students; but at the same time they develop further some underlying trends that had been expressed by only some of the students. The major finding from the H.S.P.Q. indicated a definite rise in tension and anxiety. Those acquainted with the literature of psychology, of course, realize that "anxiety" is one of the most theoretically complex topics in the field. Here we cannot review all the literature and possible interpretations (see May, 1950; Levitt, 1967; Spielberger, 1966), but rather suggest the possible implications of the striking changes on these scales for the ABC students. It will be recalled from the student follow-up interviews how a number had told vividly of the degree to which they now felt achievement pressures, how they always had to be working and found it hard to relax. It may well be that part of what these scales reflected were effects of the socialization of the boys in the achievement values of our society. McClelland and others who have investigated the achievement motive have found that part of the impetus to achievement stems from fear of failure as well as from positive desires to attain goals (Atkinson, 1958). Some of the ABC boys said that they felt more driven and that they worried more about failure. It may well be that this heightened concern and drive is part of what is reflected in these test changes. In raising their achievement aspirations the boys became more future oriented and planful, but also necessarily more apprehensive and fearful regarding it. One cannot aspire without facing the threat of the frustration of aspiration.

However, beyond an explanation in terms of increased level of achievement and consequent worry and concern, the "normal neuroticism" of the upwardly mobile; the rise on these measures might indicate more serious problems. Some sociological studies have indicated that the incidence of psychopathology is higher among individuals who have had considerable class mobility (Hollingshead & Redlich, 1958). Obviously cause and effect relationships are difficult to establish here, but a correlation has been indicated. One reason for evaluation of the effects of Project ABC was concern as to what would be the emotional consequences of such great changes in social environment. It was anticipated that such transition would be stressful and put a considerable burden of adjustment upon the individual boy. Threats to the stability and integrity of the self-concept, which many theorists regard as the basic threat in most human anxiety provoking situations, inevitably would be encountered in such a transition. However, lest this picture be excessively gloomy, it might also be noted that creative tension and heightened awareness and perspective can also be a product of social marginality.

The HSPQ changes discussed thus far indicated increased anxiety and tension; but there were changes on other scales which suggest movement in different directions. One change was on factor "F" where the entire group showed significant movement toward "Happy-to-lucky, heedless, gay, enthusiastic, (surgency)". This shift did not stand out quite as sharply with the smaller ABC sub-sample and matched control group; but in any case it did seem suggestive of an increased liveliness and bouyancy and of decreased sober, and taciturn characteristics. As noted earlier, reinterviewing the boys had suggested such change for many. They appeared to have become more lively and enthusiastic as a group.

A marked, and perhaps related change, was found on factor "Q3. Casual vs. Controlled" where there was a highly significant movement toward "Casual, careless of social rules, untidy, follows own urges, (low self-concept control)". This change, found in the entire group, also held in the smaller ABC sub-sample but not in the matched control group. This interesting change that will shortly be supported by CPI data, calls to mind the statements of some ABC boys that they felt that they had eased up in some of their standards and perhaps become more complacent. Perhaps this may in part reflect assimilation and acculturation to a "preppy" norm of "casualness", which at least in some schools in the past has been regarded as a standard to emulate by many of the student body. There is possibly another aspect to be considered in interpreting change on this particular factor scale. The ABC students as a group tended initially to score extraordinarily high on the end of this scale which is indicative of "controlled socially, precise, self-discipline, compulsive, (high self-concept control)". In moving more toward the "casual" side, they are really falling closer to the mean score of general population on this characteristic. In other words, this might be a statistical artifact, a "regression toward the mean" on retesting, or it might be a meaningful change. As additional test findings support change in this direction, it seems more likely that there is genuine significance in the findings.

Further analysis of the HSPQ changes was done attempting to establish whether within certain sub-groups of ABC students the direction of changes were different. These data are not presented in detail here as they involve a number of complicated tables. However, the general findings of this further analysis will be indicated. The ABC sub-groups were those which in the earlier discussion of academic changes in Chapter 5 were designated "POOR", "DECLINE", "SO-SO", "GAINS", "GOOD". Analysis of the changes in these sub-groups showed that on the retesting all of the groups generally were moving in the same directions on the HSPQ scales. That is to say, a significant change for the entire group on a particular scale was generally mirrored in changes (often significant) in all the sub-groups. Usually the groups that had changed the most were the groups that on the basis of the staff interviews we had characterized as "GOOD" and "GAINS". The smallest changes seemed to usually occur in the "SO-SO" group. Briefly, the very marked changes found indicating increases in emotionality, apprehensiveness, tension, and other anxiety-related scales held for all the groups, as did the changes toward increased casualness. It also appeared that the changes on factor scales "A" and "F" indicative of more outgoingness and of more bouyancy and enthusiasm tended to be most marked in the "GOOD" and "GAINS" group. There was also a strong tendency for the changes on the anxiety-related measures to be highest in those groups that had changed most either in a positive or a negative direction - which of course makes sound psychological sense.

The overall findings on the ABC boys two-year changes on HSPQ Personality Inventory are then quite clear in their indication of heightened anxiety, emotionality, worry, tension, and drivenness. While the possible pathological significance such changes should not be minimized, it is also necessary to recognize that as long as these traits do not become incapacitating they may have positive significance. The boys have definitely been challenged and forced to cope with very demanding new situations.

GOUGH "CPI" PERSONALITY INVENTORY. Another major personality inventory was administered to the ABC students during their initial weeks in the program and in the subsequent two-year follow-up. The Gough California Psychological Inventory ("CPI") was given to all ABC students, but it was not administered to the matched control group as available testing time was more limited. The CPI was designed to assess characteristics of broad personal and social relevance and is oriented toward favorable and positive aspects of personality rather than to the pathological. It has 18 scales classified in various groups such as: I. Poise, ascendancy and self-assurance; II. Socialization, maturity and responsibility; III. Achievement potential and intellectual efficiency; and IV. Intellectual and interest modes. The development and validation of the various scales is presented in Gough (1964).

The two-year changes on the CPI are presented in Appendix C, Table 3. Again we will summarize the probable meaning of the changes. On the first group of CPI scales which are designated as (I.) Measures of poise, ascendancy and self-assurance there were significant increases on the following scales: 2. Capacity for Status (Cs), 4. Social Presence (Sp), and 5. Self-acceptance (Sa). The Capacity for Status scale was designed to assess "attributes which underlie and lead to status" such as ambition, versatility, ascendancy, etc.. The Social Presence scale was designed to assess "poise, spontaneity and self-confidence in personal and social interaction". The Self-acceptance scale assesses "sense of personal worth, self-acceptance, and capacity for independent thinking and action". The significant changes on these scales appear to corroborate the observations of the faculty members and ABC students which reported increased self-confidence ans self-assurance for most ABC boys. It might be noted that the CPI increases were found for all the sub-groups designated on the basis of their academic changes, with the main divergence being that the "POOR" group did not increase as markedly on "social presence" as the rest of the boys.

The CPI scales classified "II. Measures of Socialization, maturity and responsibility" showed interesting changes. There were significant decreases on "8. Socialization (So)" and "9. Self-control (Sc)" and a significant increase on "10. Tolerance (To)". The decrease on the Socialization scale designed to indicate "degree of social maturity, integrity, and rectitude", suggests movement toward such traits as defensive, resentful, headstrong, rebellious, and undependable. The significant decrease on Self-control designed to assess "degree and adequacy of self-control and freedom from impulsivity and self-centeredness", indicated movement toward traits like impulsive, excitable, irritable, uninhibited, and assertive. The increase on Tolerance indicated movement toward more "permissive, acceptive, and nonjudgmental social beliefs and attitudes". The direction of changes on these three scales was the same for all the academic sub-groups, so it is clear that these were uniform tendencies for all the ABC students. The decrease on Socialization and Self-control scales recalls similar findings on the HSPQ inventory. It appears that after two years experience in the program the ABC boys measure as less conforming "good boys" than initially and became less well-socialized, controlled and conforming. In terms of the CPI scale descriptions these may appear to be negative changes, and perhaps they are. It is possible that the independent school experience had a "corrupting" influence on the boys, and indeed some had remarked upon the undesirable features of the school values and their effects. However, one can also entertain alternative interpretations. These changes might also be taken as an indication that the boys are developing into more outspokenly critical and assertive individuals and that they are less the submissive conformists. In terms of the rhetoric of contemporary racial dialogue it might be held that they have moved from docile "Uncle Toms" to a more militant and assertive stance. We have already seen how the Black students at some schools became a selfconscious "Afro-American society" and perhaps these personality scales reflect some of this increased assertiveness. However, it is important to view this change in the light of the accompanying change in the direction of greater tolerance. This was indicated both on the CPI scales so designated, and strongly evident in the comments of many of the ABC students who felt their exposure to a wider, or at least different, social world had made them more tolerant of diversity and with greater understanding of various social perspectives.

The changes on "III. Measures of achievement potential and intellectual efficiency" were also marked. There was a significant decrease on "13. Achievement via Conformance (Ac)" and a significant increase on "14. Achievement via Independence (Ai)". The decrease on the Achievement via Conformance scale designed to assess "factors of interest and motivation which facilitate achievement in any setting where conformance is a positive behavior" suggests movement toward such traits as stubborn, aloof, disorganized under pressures to conform. The increase on Achievement via Independance assesses "factors of interest and motivation which facilitate achievement in any setting where autonomy and independence are positive behaviors". These changes though not entirely unambiguous, certainly look predominantly positive. They suggest that the education the boys are receiving has had definite impact in the area of independent interest and initiative. It has already been noted how the educational emphasis of most independent schools is on thinking and active expression in classroom discussions. Many ABC students reported how different the atmosphere of the independent schools was from their prior education where rote-learning tended to be rewarded. It appears the ABC students responded positively to this favorable academic environment. Again these changes held for all of the sub-groups designated on the basis of academic performance.

In "IV. Measures of intellectual and interest modes" a highly significant increase occurred on "17. Flexibility (Fx)" a scale designed to assess "degree of flexibility and adaptability of a person's thinking and social behavior". It hardly seems necessary to comment on the interpretation of this change. The ABC boys had been challenged by their new and different educational and social environments and in most cases coped well. Their adaptive capacity seems to have been increased. All of the sub-groups showed the same direction of change on this scale.

TOMKINS-HORN PICTURE ARRANGEMENT TEST. Few significant changes were found using the J.B. Miner (1967) revised scoring system for the Tomkins-Horn Picture Arrangement Test "PAT" (Tomkins & Miner, 1957, 1959). It had been anticipated that some of the newly developed scales on pathology, conformity, work motivation, social interaction, emotionality, and self-confidence might show significant changes; however the few trends that were found were not of particular interest.

G-S-Z INTEREST INVENTORY. It was anticipated that there might be some shifts of interest patterns in the boys as a result of exposure to greater cultural opportunities and different social class norms and values. It was expected that compared with the controls, the ABC students would show increased "intellectual" (i.e. asthetic, literary, and scientific) interests and that their aspirations and vocational plans would move toward more demanding and higher status occupations. The inventory used to discover if such changes did occur, was the Guilford-Shneidman-Zimmerman Interest Survey (1948). The G-S-Z is a comprehensive general purpose inventory that attempts to assess some of the most significant areas of avocational activity and vocational specialization. For purposes of this analysis we weighted avocational interests "1" and vocational interests "2" in our modified scoring. The findings on G-S-Z interest changes are presented in Appendix C, Tables 4a and 4b. Table 4a presents the two-year changes for the entire ABC group (both those in independent school and those who have dropped out). Table 4b presents the changes for a sub-sample of ABC students and their matched controls (both groups still enrolled in secondary school, i.e. no "drop-outs"). The interpretations will be based on data of the two tables in conjunction, so that only changes that appear particularly distinctive for the ABC students will be noted.

A marked change that characterized the ABC boys was the considerable and highly significant decrease in "Scientific: Theoretical" interests in activities and vocations involving highly abstract scientific theorizing and conceptualization. This appeared to be the greatest change in interest and vocational plans. It will be recalled that interest in science and technology was very high at the time the boys entered the program and that many wanted occupations in applied science and technology. It will also be recalled that in the follow-up interviews a number reported they were less interested in science than formerly. The G-S-Z inventory changes also showed this strong shift in interest. It should be noted that the scientific theoretical interests tended to rise in the control group.

The ABC boys also showed a significant increase in "Artistic: Expressive" interests in artistic activities and vocations such as music, drama, art and design. There was also indication of increases in Artistic: Appreciative and Linguistic: Appreciative interests, but the evidence was not quite as clear cut. At any rate some of the anticipated increase in cultural interests appeared to have occurred.

An area of increase was in "Business-Political: Merchantile" interests in activities and vocations of an entrepreneurial and financial nature. The control group also tended to increase in this area, but not nearly as much as the ABC boys. In the interviews some boys had directly expressed their increased interest in business; and it was clear from the comments of many others regarding the economic and class differences they observed that wealth and money-making had become a more salient concern.

There was a significant decrease in "Office Worker: Clerical" interests in activities and vocations involving routine clerical operations and office procedures. Similarly there was a tendency toward decrease in"Office Worker: Numerical" interests in routine numerical operations. While interest in these activities clearly decreased for the ABC students, they remained the same or increased for the control group. These changes seem quite clearly to relate to aspiration levels. The boys who went to preparatory schools tended to lose interest in lower status occupations, while those who remained in their local high schools tended to continue or become more interested in such fields. We have heard how eloquently some of the ABC boys expressed their heightened aspirations. Such students who have been encouraged to set higher goals would be quite discontent to have to settle for less.

CONCLUSIONS REGARDING PSYCHOLOGICAL TEST CHANGES. Taken together the various psychological test findings indicate that quite substantial processes of change have been initiated in the ABC boys. There is considerable evidence of significant changes in drive and aspiration toward higher status and the expectation of more from life. The students appear more assertive and independent, but also more tense and driven. We have indicated earlier that they were already outstanding in their local communities for ability and drive. This had been rewarded at home and was further encouraged by the nature of the ABC program. Raising aspirations has serious personal and social consequences if opportunities for fulfillment are not forthcoming. Fortunately for this group of disadvantaged boys the opportunities for the realization of aspiration appear brighter than for their less fortunate peers. The psychological test changes suggest this increase in aspiration may entail a personal price in terms of heightened tension and drivenness. However it is a price most of them probably are willing to pay considering the alternatives.

Two years is a rather short span in which to judge the significance of developments and changes which necessarily will be played out in the remainder of these boys' lives. In an uncertain world, where so much is affected by fortunes and misfortunes both personal and collective, one dare not extrapolate too far the course and thrust of their future lives. But it appears that already the opportunities open to these young men have altered them significantly.

CONCLUSIONS REGARDING PERSONAL AND SOCIAL CHANGES

We have examined three sources of information regarding the personal and social changes occurring in the ABC students over a two-year period. They were: 1) reports from preparatory school staff and teachers, 2) the ABC boys' own testimony, and 3) findings on psychological tests and inventories. These data provide a substantial basis on which to base our conclusions. The pieces appear to fit together and a coherent picture emerges. One can state with confidence that the program had a special and definite effect on the lives of these boys. Because individual personalities and experiences differ, there is much that is necessarily unique. However, some very important major changes and trends emerge for the group as a whole. Though there were exceptions, it seems fair to state that the results of the program were predominantly beneficial. There was ample evidence that the program made a substantial positive difference in the lives of the majority of the ABC students. For most the program lived up to its name: "A BETTER CHANCE". It meant greater opportunity and heightened aspirations. Most students responded well and gained in self-confidence, self-awareness, and greater sense of direction, and their own capabilities. The gains seem genuine and substantial.

But changes have not been beneficial for those less able to make the intellectual and social adjustment. For them it has been a difficult and discouraging experience. It was hardest for students whose academic abilities, for one reason or another, were marginal and who were hard put to meet the academic challenges of the independent schools. We have seen how discouraged and depressed some of these boys have become. For other boys the social challenges were difficult. Adolescent boys can be hard on the weaker ones and for some of the boys boarding school life was cruel. Boys who were socially inept or unusually immature or weak were hard pressed. The small number of academically unsuccessful or socially unprepossessing were the main contributors to the clear evidence found for heightened tension and anxiety in the group, however, the academic and social adjustment of all the ABC boys was challenged in some degree. The boys were tested in many ways. Fortunately most were not wanting and had or developed the necessary strengths to adapt to and master new demands. The encountering of new situations and developing of new adjustive patterns is related to both the greater stress and greater strength we have found.

The initial interviews with these young men and consideration of the manner of their selection lead us to infer that most probably were already marginal and atypical in their home communities. In environments that for the majority of their inhabitants provided limited opportunity or cause for aspiration, they hoped and persevered. In their new preparatory school environments they again were marginal or different from the majority of their fellows. They have been part of and yet apart in two very different worlds. This kind of social marginality is not comfortable and has real problems. But it also has compensations and advantages. Talking with these young men one is often impressed by their unusual awareness. At an early age they have become aware of themselves and the world about them. Clearly their role has been difficult but most have gained in insight and competence. The fulfillment of promise and of promises is serious and difficult. At this point in time, it would seem that most have neither been disappointed nor have they disappointed.

CHAPTER 8

CHARACTERISTICS ASSOCIATED WITH ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE AND SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

An additional interest in studying Project ABC was to discover what were the characteristics of boys who did well and who did poorly in the program. Knowledge of the correlates, and possibly determinants, of success and failure could help in the understanding of the kinds of individual characteristics that were important and could have implications for screening and selection of future students. Systematic investigation of the available information on the students might therefore provide useful information on the characteristics related to doing poorly or well in the program, - both academically and socially.

As has become evident, considerable information was gathered and analyzed regarding the ABC boys performance during their first two years in the program. Chapter 5 presented their academic performance over the two-year period and discussed the development of 3 academic criterion ratings. Chapter 6 considered their social adjustment and discussed the derivation of a criterion rating on social adjustment. This chapter will present the correlates of these criterion ratings of academic performance and social adjustment. This search for significant correlates of the criterion ratings aimed to discover what kinds of characteristics were related to how well or poorly the ABC boys did in their academic work and in their general adjustment to the independent schools. All the available information on the boys that could be systematically analyzed in this manner was examined. These data came from background information obtained at time of application to the program, from achievement and personality tests administered to the boys early in the program, from the analysis of their responses to interview questions, and from faculty reports and evaluations. The nature of these sources of information and how they relate to the criterion ratings of academic performance and social adjustment will be presented in this chapter. First characteristics associated with academic success and failure will be presented; then characteristics associated with good or poor social adjustment.

CHARACTERISTICS ASSOCIATED WITH ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE

Chapter 5 discussed the development of 3 academic criterion ratings including "overall academic performance" and its separation into ratings of "academic potential" and "academic motivation". Most of our data analyses with respect to academic performance in this chapter will use this "Criterion Rating 1. OVERALL ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE"; however, when useful there will be occasional references to criterion ratings 2. academic potential and 3. academic motivation. From the full presentation in Chapter 5 it will be recalled that all 82 students received the rating on overall academic performance on the basis of the reports on their two-year record. The ratings assigned ranged from "1" indicating consistent failure or academic drop-out, to "7" indicating truly outstanding work. In much subsequent analysis these 7-point rating scale values are employed, (i.e. where variables are continuous and correlational techniques are appropriate). But in other parts of the analysis (i.e. where variables are not continuous and groups or categories are employed in contingency tables), the ratings are combined so that ratings 1 and 2 are designated "LOW"; ratings 3,4, and 5 are designated "AVERAGE"; and ratings 6 and 7 are designated "HIGH". This combining of categories is done when contingency tables are used; otherwise where correlational analysis is appropriate the 7-point scale ratings are employed.

In this section we will systematically examine various student characteristics to discover significant correlates of academic performance. This search for correlates of academic performance comes out of analysis of all the available information that potentially might show meaningful association with how the students performed. As will be seen many of the findings make good psychological sense, while there are also findings that might be anticipated but which appeared to bear no relationship to the student's performance in this sample. As we both find and do not find the expected, and in some cases even find the unexpected, it is important to consider the nature of this kind of research - therefore there will be a brief initial discussion of the problems of correlational research and the difficulties involved in attempting to go from such research findings to the prediction of behavior.

SOME METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS. The experienced psychologist or statistician is well aware that the particular relationships discovered in data from a group are greatly affected by the special characteristics of that group. That is, relationships which hold for the population at large might not be found or might even be reversed in a particular sub-sample. A familiar textbook example of this is the relationship of age and achievement test scores: i.e., when one studies the relationship between student ages and test scores across many grades there usually is a high positive relationship (that is, older students get higher scores); however within any one grade or class it is possible that the relationship will be reversed, (that is, older students are more likely to score low). Also, a restricted range of variability in a group is likely to reduce degree of indicated relationships. Thus if one is looking at a highly selected sample the relationships of measures within that sample may appear quite different than they would in the larger population. There are additional considerations, such as the consistent finding in educational research that it is easier to predict poor performance than good performance - the "twisted pair phenomena" where low scores on achievement tests are predictive of poor school performance while high scores are not necessarily predictive of good performance. These and other methodological difficulties and considerations are well presented in L.E. Tyler (1965, pp. 48-56, 72-81).

Prediction of behavior and future performance is not as easy as might initially appear. The expectation that knowledge of a few relevant characteristics can "explain" behavior and be useful in predicting future behavior is usually disappointed in actual experience. The long history of psychological research on prediction has been more productive of insight into the difficulties and problems in such efforts than it has been in terms of improved prediction. Briefly some major problems are: 1) the criterion problem, i.e. it is not always easy to clearly define the standards of success or failure (e.g. academic success in school grades is relatively easy to judge, but in broader life situations the standards of good or poor performance are far more difficult and open to questioning); 2) the base rate problem, i.e. incidence rates or frequency of occurrence affect chances of "hits" or "misses" (it is difficult to accurately predict the statistically rare event but easy to predict the common one); and 3) direction of prediction, i.e. looking at the relationship between 2 variables in one direction may make the results look more impressive than they really are, (e.g. studies indicated that militarily unfit draftees had higher scores on a food aversion questionnaire as a group, but of the total group of draftees with high food aversion scores the great majority were militarily fit.) Good introductory discussions of the problems in psychological prediction are presented in Baughmann & Welsh (1962, pp. 497-527) and Wallen (1956, pp. 23-51). These considerations of the methodological difficulties in predicting behavior are introduced to prepare the reader for the fact that many of the findings to be reported are by no means unequivocal and may be subject to varied interpretation.

A further consideration is that parts of the data were undoubtedly subject to various degrees of bias. This would appear less of a problem with the standardized objective tests, and more of a problem with the information coming from interviews. However it undoubtedly could affect both kinds of data. For example, we find that intelligence and achievement test scores related significantly to the academic performance of the ABC boys in the independent schools. This is a strong and consistent finding and makes good sense. However, it must also be recognized that the school staff members and teachers on whose reports the judgment of the boys' academic work was made also had in most cases access to other intelligence and achievement tests administered by the school and which undoubtedly bore high relation to the scores obtained in the ABC research. Recent studies (Rosenthal 1968) have indicated how teachers' evaluation of students, and indeed the students' own performance, can be markedly affected by the teachers' knowledge of intelligence test scores. We certainly would expect such influences to operate in our data. To an even greater extent, bias may be operating in the eliciting and coding of interview responses. Interview questions were asked by the writer and responses coded by him in what was designed to be a consistent and standardized fashion. The aim was to make sure that the same kinds of information were elicited from all students and that a representative and honest account of their attitudes and responses was obtained. However the experienced psychologist is well aware of the many selective and biasing factors potentially operating in any interview. (See Cantril 1944, Jahoda, Deutsch, and Cook, 1951 for the role of such biasing influences.) The interviewer, when interviewing the ABC students, already knew from faculty reports how the boy was faring in his academic and social adjustment. This knowledge may have significantly affected the way questions were asked and pursued, and later affected the coding of the students responses. Undoubtedly this must have played some role in affecting the results. However, it was the clear intent of the interviewer to be wary of confirming pet hypotheses and slanting the findings. The main guarantee that this did not seriously distort the findings was the desire to be true to the data and to find out "what really was going on", - to not merely confirm, but discover.

These methodological considerations are not presented to discount findings or to prepare the reader for no results. Rather their purpose is to indicate that as in all human situations, and certainly in psychological research, what one finds is affected both by characteristics of the situation and one's manner of observation and interpretation. This was a study of a very selected group of students in a very special program at a particular point in time made by an individual researcher who selected certain tools and techniques for the study. Hopefully there will be broader implications and generalizability of the findings; but what is found and reported must necessarily come first out of the particular situation. Some of the findings are sufficiently clear-cut so that we have a better conception of what is associated with academic performance and social adjustment in this particular program during this particular time for this particular group of boys. Here we can be relatively certain and affirmative. Hopefully what is found will have broader relevance.

BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS. A major concern of our analysis was to discover whether any background characteristics of the ABC student bore significant relationship to their academic performance. Many studies have shown the relationship of particular family and community characteristics to school achievement. (Conant, 1961; Coleman, 1966) Such studies examined the data of large scale surveys in varied school systems with a wide range of student background characteristics. Our data is from a smaller and much more restricted sample so that the same kinds of relationships may not necessarily be found. What we were concerned to discover were the student background characteristics related to academic achievement for the ABC students.

As has become clear from earlier chapters a variety of background information was available on the ABC students. Much of this background information was presented in Chapter 3. In searching for correlates of academic performance the same data will be used again to see how it related to the academic ratings. Some information (coming from our files on the students and their application blanks) is available for all 82 ABC students studied. Other information (coming from the student interviews at the end of the first summer) is available for 80 of the 82 boys (only omitting the 2 students who left early during the summer program). Using these data we will review rapidly the kinds of background characteristics that did not relate significantly to school achievement, and spend more time presenting the characteristics that did relate significantly to school achievement in this group of ABC students. All of this relevant background information was coded and, through the use of a computer, run against the criterion ratings of academic performance. All the many tables were inspected and when a significant relationship appeared to be present they were put in the form of contingency tables and statistically checked. The relationships that were found will now be discussed.

The first question is whether race and ethnic group background bore a significant relationship to the ABC students' academic performance. The combined ratings on "Criterion Rating 1. OVERALL ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE - 2-YEAR RECORD" showed the following distribution for the various racial and ethnic groups:

	LOW	AVERAGE	HIGH	N
Negro	13	32	12	57
White	3	4	1	8
Amer. Ind.	4	3	1	8
Puerto Rican	1	3	3	7
Oriental	-	1	1	2
				82

Because of the small numbers in some ethnic groups it was not appropriate to run statistical tests; however, inspection of the distributions indicates some relationship to ethnic background. It is evident that the American Indian students had, as a group, been doing more poorly in their academic work. Some reasons for this have already been discussed and will receive further consideration in the next chapter. The academic difficulties experienced by many American Indian boys has also been found in other years. For many Indian boys the academic transition was extremely difficult. From this table it appears that White ABC students were not doing particularly well, while Puerto Rican and Oriental students were doing relatively well. The Negro students, who constituted 70% of the total, showed a wide range of performance with the majority in the middle and about equal numbers doing poorly and well.

No significant relationships were found with respect to age, religion, reported family income, and whether the home was intact. No difference in academic performance was found with respect to whether or not the family was together or the home was broken.

No significant relationships were found with respect to many of the reported characteristics of the ABC boys' fathers. This lack of relationship included whether or not the father had been present during childhood, geographical region of the father's birthplace, and size of the community where the father was born. It might be noted with regard to the latter that, while there was no overall relationship in the group, there appeared to be some tendency for boys whose fathers came from rural backgrounds to be more often represented in the "GOOD" and "GAINS" groups (designated in the discussion of academic changes in Chapter 5). There also appeared to be a slight inverse relationship of the level of father's education with the boys academic performance. The distribution was:

	LOW	AVERAGE	HIGH
Below high school	2	18	7
High school	11	19	3
College	5	5	3

Chi square = 9.09 with 4 d.f.
$p < .10$

This trend is approaching significance. It suggests a tendency for boys whose fathers had only grade school education to be doing somewhat better in their academic work, while boys whose fathers had some college education or graduated tended to be doing more poorly. Also related to this finding was a slight tendency (not statistically significant) for boys whose father's occupation was manual work to be doing somewhat better than boys whose fathers had white collar jobs. It might also be noted that the writer's impression, studying the record and interviewing the boys, was that some whose families had more education and were more comfortably "middle class", did not have quite as much academic drive and ambition as some boys whose families were more impoverished and "lower class". However, this is but a slight tendency and not a strong relationship holding in all cases. There were no significant relationships with the reported steadiness of father's work or the boy's evaluation of the father's life and work. Also in the relatively few cases where a father surrogate was present, there were no significant relationships found with his characteristics.

With respect to characteristics of the mother, no statistically significant relationships were found with the amount the mother was present during childhood, the location or size of the mother's birthplace, whether or not the mother worked, the mother's occupation, or the evaluation of the mother's life. There was no significant relationship of academic performance with the mother's education holding for the entire group; but there was a finding of interest in the table:

	LOW	AVERAGE	HIGH
Below high school	4	10	3
High school	11	24	13
Post high school	5	9	0

Chi square = 5.21 on 4 d.f.
Not significant

It appears that ABC boys whose mothers had had some post high school education (college or various commercial and vocational schools) tended to be doing somewhat more poorly. Again this supported the writer's impression, particularly in following up some drop-out cases, where it appeared that some of the better educated mothers were more ambitious for the son's success than the boy himself was. In this sample, some boys who came from families where both father and mother had more education appeared more complacent and less ambitious than the students whose parents had had less education. Again this was a slight trend and would not hold in all instances. (In the very few cases where a mother surrogate was present, no significant relationships were found with her characteristics.)

With respect to characteristics of siblings, no significant relationships were found. The ABC boys academic performance was not related to their ordinal position in the family (i.e. whether they were oldest, middle or younger children) or to the number of siblings in the family. There was no relationship of academic performance to the schooling of either older male or older female siblings. There was no relationship as to whether older male or female siblings had dropped out, were continuing, or had completed high school.

There were no significant overall relationships with the location or size of the ABC boy's home community. However, there was a tendency for reservation Indians to be doing more poorly academically: of the 6 American Indian boys from reservations, 4 had dropped out primarily for academic reasons but the other 2 were improving. There was no overall relationship with whether or not the ABC boys *home neighborhood was racially mixed* or with the *behavior reported in the community* (i.e. whether it was a disorganized area or a good neighborhood). There were no significant relationships in the specific aspects the boys cited as their *likes and dislikes of their home neighborhood,* with the exception that there did tend to be a trend for students who reported *dislike of the general appearance of their neighborhood* to be doing somewhat better academically than boys who had not mentioned such dislike. There was no relationship with the reported *problems of boys growing up in the local neighborhood*.

With respect to reported *characteristics of the boy's previous school,* no significant relationships were found. Academic performance appeared to show no relationship to *public or parochial school background*, *intergrated or segregated education*, *the proportion of non-Whites in previous schools,* or *school size*. (Again we note that in larger and more representative studies these relationships *have* been found.) With respect to the students overall *evaluation of their previous schools* or their *specific likes and dislikes of the school* there were generally no significant relationships. However, boys who had complained about poor course selection at their previous school were almost all (8 out of 9) in the "GAINS" and "GOOD" groups and were high on academic motivation ratings. While the boys who had complained about poor athletic facilities at their previous schools in 4 out of the 5 cases were drop-outs in the "POOR" academic group and had particularly low motivation ratings. These are merely trends and insufficient numbers were involved for statistical analysis.

No significant relationships were found with the boys' *overall feelings about going to independent school* as reported during the first summer. The boys' academic performance did not relate significantly to the *regrets and fears expressed about going to independent schools*. Most of the reasons they gave for being *glad they were going to independent school* showed no significant relationship. However, the boys who cited *challenges and opportunities at preparatory school* as a reason they were glad they were going appear to be doing better academically than boys who did not mention this aspect. The distribution was:

	LOW	AVERAGE	HIGH	
Challenges mentioned	7	31	13	Chi square = 10.13 on 2 d.f.
Not mentioned	13	13	3	$p < .01$

It might also be noted that only 4 ABC students had given no reasons that first summer why they were glad to be going to preparatory school; 3 of these 4 were doing poorly.

There was no significant relationship of ratings on academic work to the boys reported *overall initial responses to their first few days in the program*. However, there was a significant tendency for those boys who had reported themselves to be *initially apprehensive regarding how they would do academically or socially* to eventually do better in academic work. The distribution was as follows:

	LOW	AVERAGE	HIGH	
Initially Apprehensive	0	13	5	Chi square = 7.76 on 2 d.f.
Not mentioned	20	31	11	$p < .01$

It might also be noted that these initially apprehensive boys were much more likely to be found in the "GAINS" and "GOOD" groups in the two-year follow-up study. On the other hand those students who reported that they initially disliked the routine and study program at the ABC summer program tended to be doing more poorly in their academic work at the time of the two-year follow-up. The distribution was:

	LOW	AVERAGE	HIGH	
Disliked routine	8	6	4	Chi square = 5.52 on 2 d.f.
Not mentioned	12	38	12	$p < .02$

No relationship was found with reported initial likes of the summer program.

Reported feelings of satisfaction-dissatisfaction with their academic work in the summer program were significantly related to how boys did in their later academic work in preparatory school. The distribution was:

	LOW	AVERAGE	HIGH	
Dissatisfied	6	6	0	
Mixed	11	11	6	Chi square = 15.14 on 4 d.f.
Satisfied	3	26	10	$p < .01$

As might be expected the students reporting various difficulties in their school work during the first summer were more likely to be students whose eventual academic performance tended to be poor. The tables need not be presented.

On the question regarding how teaching at ABC compared with previous schooling, boys who said they had received good teaching at both home and ABC tended to do better over the two-year period. Otherwise there was no relationship between comments made about various aspects of the academic work and teaching at the ABC summer program and long-term academic performance. Also there was no relationship with how the boys reported they related to their Resident Tutors or the individuals in the program they mentioned as important. However, there was a tendency (approaching .10 significance level) for boys who reported they related poorly to other students in their suite to do poorly in academic work later on in preparatory school, and for boys who related well to other students to do well academically.

There was no relationship of the reported favorable or unfavorable impressions of the summer program to later academic performance with the exception of a few slight trends. Boys who mentioned their favorable impression of the academic work in the summer program tended to do better in preparatory school. Also boys who complained about athletics in the summer program tended to do poorly in prep school, as did those who complained about the demanding nature of the summer program. (The number of students in both of these groups was too small for statistical analysis, but the proportion of eventual failures in these two groups was high). There was a slight, but not statistically significant, tendency for students who reported changes in themselves during the first summer to do womewhat better academically in preparatory school, but there was no relationship with the specific changes reported.

There was no relationship of the academic ratings with the amount the boys reported they had thought about career plans or with the occupational levels of the vocations considered. Also there was no relationship with specific vocational fields mentioned, with the exception that those who mentioned that they wanted careers in science or technology tended to do better academic work in preparatory school. The distribution was:

	LOW	AVERAGE	HIGH
Science and Technology Mentioned	8	30	16
Not mentioned	12	14	0

Chi square = 14.61 on 2 d.f.
p .02

The boys who were considering science and technology as possible fields were more heavily represented in the "GAINS" and "GOOD" groups in the two-year follow-up. It should also be noted that there were no "GOOD" students among the 8 students who were considering professional athletics as a career. Shortly we will find that the relationship of such interest patterns to academic success is supported by evidence from the interest inventories. There was no relationship of the rating of the boys' academic performance with the colleges or universities they mentioned they were considering during the first summer of the program.

Thus in this group of ABC students few significant relationships were found between specific background characteristics and the ratings of their academic performance. Most relationships that were found came not out of general background characteristics, but out of more specific attitudes and reactions reported in the interviews during the first summer. Students who went on to do well were likely to be boys who seemed to welcome the challenges and opportunities they expected to encounter in preparatory school, but who were also somewhat apprehensive regarding their academic and social adjustment to the new situation. They had tended to respond positively to the summer academic program and were more likely to be satisfied with how they were doing. On the other hand, those students who initially disliked the routine and study program and responded negatively to the demands placed upon them tended to do poorly when they went on to independent school.

INTELLIGENCE AND ACHIEVEMENT TESTS. One set of data that bore significant relationship to the boys academic performance in the independent schools was the intelligence and achievement tests. It will be recalled from Chapter 5 that there had been few significant changes on intelligence and achievement test scores over two years. But the initial scores on these same tests did relate significantly to the students' academic performance over the two-year period (Appendix C, Table 5).

The Otis I.Q. scores correlated .40 with overall academic performance ratings and .52 with academic potential ratings. The Cattell "Culture Fair" I.Q. scores correlated .29 with overall academic performance ratings and .37 with academic potential ratings. These are highly significant correlations ($p < .001$). The ETS Cooperative English Test scales also showed moderate and significant correlations with academic performance and potential. In Appendix C, Table 5 there are data on the correlations of additional intelligence and achievement tests.

Examination of these correlations indicates that scores on the familiar intelligence and achievement tests were highly related to the academic performance of the ABC students. The highest correlations were in the .40 to .50 range indicating far from perfect prediction of course, but none-the-less a significant degree of association. Despite their admitted flaws and the dangers inherent in their misuse discussed earlier, these tests generally showed the highest degree of relationship to academic performance of any body of data on the ABC students. Inspection of the means, standard deviations, and particularly the ranges of scores on the tests will indicate, as has been discussed earlier, that the ABC students were a highly selected group. There were relatively few boys of very low ability and many with high academic abilities as measured by the tests. That we find such strength of relationship even in such a select group is impressive. It should further be noted that generally the boys who had great academic difficulty came from the students who had lower academic potential as indicated by the tests. Despite the emphasis in the ABC literature on the selection of "risk" candidates it would appear that most of the boys were not great "risks" as far as their test scores would indicate, though, of course, they might have other educational handicaps. And the more "risky" candidates (i.e. those with the lower abilities according to the tests) were those whose overall academic performance proved poorer. These comments are not meant to discourage compensatory programs for the disadvantaged students, but rather to provide a realistic look at the kind of boy admitted into this particular program and within this group to see who fared well and who fared poorly. The academic and educational handicaps of the seriously disadvantaged are great and unprecedented efforts are required to improve them. But in as special and demanding a program as Project ABC only students who are already strong have much hope of surviving.

PERSONALITY AND INTEREST INVENTORIES. Chapter 7 on personal and social changes reported the many significant changes found on a number of personality inventories. However, initial scores on these various inventories in most cases did not show much relationship to the criterion ratings of students' academic performance. The significant correlations that were found will now be examined.

Some scale scores on the Cattell High School Personality Questionnaire ("HSPQ") showed significant correlations with the two-year follow-up overall academic performance ratings (Appendix C, Table 6). The first was factor "B. Less Intelligent vs. More Intelligent" which correlated positively with overall academic performance and academic potential ratings. On this short intelligence scale ABC students who tended toward the "Less Intelligent, concrete thinking" pole were those doing poorer work in preparatory school, while those scoring toward "More Intelligent, abstract thinking, bright" were doing better. Factor "E. Obedient vs. Assertive" showed a tendency for a negative correlation with overall academic performance and a significantly negative correlation with academic motivation. This indicated that boys who scored toward the "Obedient, mild, conforming, submissive" pole tended to be rated as more academically motivated than those toward the "Assertive, independent, aggressive, stubborn, dominant" pole. There was also a significant negative correlation of overall academic performance with factor "F. Sober vs. Happy-Go-Lucky" indicating better students tended more toward "Sober; prudent, serious, taciturn, desurgent" characteristics, while poorer students tended toward "Happy-Go-Lucky; heedless, gay, enthusiastic, surgent" characteristics. The significant positive correlations of overall academic performance and academic motivation ratings with factor "I. Tough-minded vs. Tender-minded" indicated the students doing better academic work tended toward "Tender-minded; dependent, overprotected" traits, while the poorer students tended toward "Tough-minded; self-reliant, realistic, no-nonsense" traits. These various correlations on the HSPQ suggest that the boys doing better academic work tended to be more conforming, serious, and tender-minded types; while those doing poorer work tended to be more assertive, aggressive, happy-go-lucky and tough-minded. It sounds as if the docile, well-behaved, and reliable boys fared better in school than the assertive, lively and careless boys.

Correlations of the academic ratings with scales on the Gough California Psychological Inventory ("CPI") tended further to support these interpretations (Appendix C, Table 7). Scale "7. Responsibility" correlated positively with overall academic performance and academic motivation. The better students scored toward the positive end with indicated traits of "conscientious, responsible, and dependable", while the poorer students scored toward the negative end indicating traits of "immature, lazy, undercontrolled, impulsive". The positive correlation with scale "14. Achievement via Independence" indicated boys with higher academic performance and motivation ratings scored toward the positive end on traits indicating "foresighted, independent, self-reliant, autonomous"; while poorer students scored more toward the "inhibited, anxious, cautious, wary, compliant" side. The positive correlation with scale "15. Intellectual Efficiency" showed students with higher academic performance and motivation ratings scoring toward the positive pole of "efficient, clear-thinking, capable, planful, thorough, resourceful, alert, well-informed, valuing intellectual matters" and the poorer students toward the traits of "confused, easy-going, shallow, unambitious". There was also a significant negative correlation of academic motivation ratings with scale "17. Flexibility" indicating the more motivated students tended to be significantly more "deliberate, cautious, worrying, industrious, guarded, mannerly, methodical, rigid, differential to authority and tradition", while the less motivated students tended toward traits of "informal, adventurous, confident, humorous, rebellious, idealistic, assertive, egoistic, concerned with personal pleasure and diversion". These correlations with CPI scales sound rather similar to the correlations with the HSPQ factor scales. ABC students whose academic work in preparatory school was faring well appeared to be conscientious, responsible, dependable, foresighted, efficient, clear-thinking, deliberate, cautious, methodical and deferential. While ABC students whose work was poorer tended to be more immature, lazy, disorganized, impulsive, anxious, shallow, unambitious, and rebellious. Not too surprisingly the picture contrasts the "good and dutiful" student who takes his responsibilities seriously and the somewhat careless and unmotivated boy who, for a variety of reasons, may not be working too hard.

Some scales on the Guilford-Schneidman-Zimmerman Interest Survey ("GSZ") showed significant correlation with academic performance ratings (Appendix C, Table 8). Some of the correlations related to the overall academic performance ratings, while others appear more strongly related to the differentiated ratings of academic potential or academic motivation. Examining first interest scores related to overall academic performance, it appeared that ABC boys who were doing well in independent school scored higher on "3. Linguistic: Appreciative" interests in activities and vocations involving reading and appreciation of literature, and on "5. Scientific: Investigatory" interests in activities in vocations in natural and social science research, and on "6. Scientific: Theoretical" interests in activities and vocations involving highly abstract scientific theorizing and conceptualization. Conversely, boys who scored low on these interest scales tended to do more poorly in their academic work. It will be remembered that earlier in the chapter other information indicated that students interested in science tended to do better academic work in the independent schools. It is worth noting briefly that academic potential ratings were negatively related to high interest scores in agriculture and farming, sports and athletics, business and finance, social and public relations activities, personal service, social welfare, and clerical office work. (However the large number of negative correlations of the academic potential rating with these interest scales makes one wonder whether some response set variables may be involved. One guess would be that brighter boys may be more discriminating in their responses and therefore have lower scores on the interest scales, while some of the less capable boys may be more naively enthusiastic and undiscriminating. This response set interpretation also relates to interview impressions where the poorer students often seemed somewhat naive and unrealistic in a variety of situations.) The academic motivation ratings correlated positively with interests in reading and literary appreciation, writing and editing, and scientific theorizing. All-in-all, the GSZ correlations are strongest in showing the relationship of good academic performance in independent school with interests in science, particularly theoretical aspects, and in literature and writing.

The Tomkins-Horn Picture Arrangement Test ("PAT") was administered to the students. No correlations were found with the modified scoring scheme (Miner, 1967) which had a number of scales designed to assess work motivation, social motivation, emotional life, conformity, and pathology.

In summary, the psychological inventory data indicated the boys who did well in independent schools were the serious, motivated, responsible, conscientious boys with definite scientific and literary interests. Those doing poorly were less disciplined students who might either be difficult and rebellious, or careless and unconcerned. Such is our interpretation of the test data and it seems in line with other information we have.

INITIAL SUMMER RATINGS BY ABC STAFF. At the end of the initial summer all 80 ABC boys who had completed the program were rated by their classroom teachers and Resident Tutor on 51 traits. This staff rating form had 2 main sections: first 22 ratings on the ABC boys scholastic work and attitudes; and second 29 ratings on general personal traits and characteristics (Appendix E).

The rating forms were developed on the basis of thorought consideration of important student traits and characteristics. The writer during ABC staff meetings the first summer had noted the kinds of statements, critical, favorable, and neutral, made about individual ABC students and their work. There was careful attention to the specific kinds of academic difficulties and strengths discussed in evaluations of the work of the students. Careful notes of these staff discussions were taken to record the various criteria for judgment. Also the literature of educational research and personality assessment was reviewed to include some of the most fundamental and well-established kinds of traits and characteristics covered in and emerging from previous work. (For the background of such studies see Allport, 1961; Baughman & Welsh, 1962; Cattell, 1957; Hall & Lindzey, 1957; and Stagner, 1961.) In consultation with the teaching staff the rating forms underwent revisions to arrive at clear descriptive criteria and at inclusiveness of most important traits and characteristics. There was full discussion with the staff on the nature of rating techniques and problems in their use, particularly "halo effects" and implicit assumptions about personality that affect ratings. It was emphasized that raters were to try to concentrate on each trait independently with emphasis on actually observed behavior and performance. As will be seen in Appendix E, there were detailed written instructions on the rating procedures. The ABC students were to be rated on these 7-point rating scales relative to the general student population in the kinds of schools they would be entering - i.e. they were to be judged against independent school norms and relative to their own age group.

Each ABC student was rated by 4 staff members: his mathematics teacher, his English teacher, his reading teacher, and his Resident Tutor. From these 4 ratings a combined average rating was obtained and used in the data analysis. To prevent the correlations in our data analysis from being artificially inflated, only data of the 75 boys who were "Recommended" to go on to preparatory school were included, for only in these cases did we have the additional two-year follow-up ratings of academic work.

Almost all the initial summer ratings of scholastic work and attitudes showed high and significant positive correlations with the criterion follow-up rating on overall academic performance after 2 years in the preparatory schools (Appendix C, Table 9). With so many significant correlations, each cannot be cited in detail but clearly the students who went on to do well in preparatory school initially had been rated significantly higher on all the main scholastic virtues while the poor students had been rated lower. To mention just the highest correlations (significant beyond the .001 level), boys who did well in preparatory school had been rated high during the first summer on Concentration, Involvement in work, Interest, Ambition, Originality, Self-reliance, High standards, Sustained effort, Persistent, Excellent achievement relative to abilities, and Probable future success. On the same scales, the boys who had done poorly in school had originally been described as Poor in concentration, Rarely involved in work, Low in interest, Unambitious, Unimaginative, Needing direction, Low standards, Little effort, Easily frustrated, Poor achievement relative to abilities, and Probable scholastic failures. In brief, the boys scholastic work and attitudes as rated by their teachers during the first summer showed very high relationship to their academic performance reported at the time of the 2-year follow-up.

With respect to the ratings of general personality traits and characteristics, most of the traits bore little or no relationship to the follow-up ratings on academic performance. However, there were a few significant relationships and they are consistent with data previously presented. The students who had done well according to the 2-year follow-up study were more likely to be those initially rated by the ABC staff as Intelligent, Dependable, Aware, and Striving. Those ABC boys who had done poorly over the 2-year period originally were rated as Dull, Undependable, Unaware, and Apathetic. As in so much of our previous data, good academic performance seemed related to good scholastic abilities and strong motivation and drive. In all, there is nothing too surprising here, but at least we have the satisfaction of confirming common sense and also finding that the initial summer evaluations of the boys by the ABC staff related significantly to their subsequent performance.

CHARACTERISTICS ASSOCIATED WITH SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

The remainder of this chapter will consider student characteristics associated with social adjustment in the ABC program and the independent schools. In Chapter 6 "Criterion Rating 4. SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT" was discussed and the distribution of ratings was presented. As in the preceding analysis of academic ratings, we will both use the 7-point rating scale for correlational analysis and combine categories for contingency table analysis. For this scale, ratings 1, 2, 3, will be combined as "POOR" covering cases where there were definite major adjustment problems; ratings 4 and 5 will be combined as "AVERAGE" where the adjustment has been satisfactory and the problems minor; and ratings 6 and 7 will be combined as "GOOD" indicating cases where no problems were evident and the boys social adjustment seemed very good.

RELATIONSHIP OF SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT RATING TO ACADEMIC RATINGS. Before presentation of the correlates of the adjustment rating it is important to note that the social adjustment rating and academic performance ratings were not unrelated. There were moderate to high positive correlations between all 4 criterion ratings. For the entire group of ABC students the ratings from the 2-year follow-up study showed the following intercorrelations:

INTERCORRELATION OF 4 CRITERION RATINGS FOR 82 ABC STUDENTS

	1. Academ. Perform.	2. Academ. Potent.	3. Academ. Motiv.	4. Social Adjust.
1. Academ. Perform. (overall)	—	.59	.82	.56

	(Perform.)	(Potent.)	(Motiv.)	(Adjust.)
2. Academ. Potent.	.59	—	.25	.11
3. Academ. Motiv.	.82	.25	—	.69
4. Social Adjust.	.56	.11	.69	—

Particularly it is to be noted the rating of social adjustment correlated .56 with the rating of overall academic performance, .11 with academic potential, and .69 with academic motivation. This association undoubtedly has been evident from earlier chapters. The boys who were doing well in their academic work generally were also doing well in their social adjustment to the school, and correspondingly boys doing poor academic work often were poorly adjusted to the school. That the correlation should be higher with motivation than with potential, also seems readily understandable. Though these ratings are significantly intercorrelated, the lack of perfect correlation suggests that somewhat different features are reflected in the various ratings. Thus we should generally expect to find rather similar characteristics related to the two types of ratings, but also some additional characteristics being more associated with academic ratings and others with social adjustment ratings. These general similarities and occasional differences will become evident as we review the correlates of social adjustment in the same manner we surveyed the academic performance correlates. As the data employed was the same and as fewer significant correlations were obtained, the correlates of social adjustment can be considered in briefer fashion.

BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS. Race and ethnic background appeared to bear no relationship to the boys' social adjustment to the program. The distribution of the various groups was as follows:

	POOR	AVERAGE	GOOD	N
Negro	18	22	17	57
White	2	5	1	8
Amer. Indian	3	2	3	8
Puerto Rican	3	2	2	7
Oriental	0	1	1	2
				82

Within all the ethnic groups there were boys doing well and doing poorly. No group appeared to be doing significantly better or worse as far as general social adjustment.

The students' age, religion, and reported family income did not relate significantly to social adjustment. There was a trend (approaching the .05 significance level) for intactness of the home to be related. Boys from broken homes appeared to be making somewhat better adjustments than the boys from intact homes. This runs somewhat contrary to usual expectations, and suggests that boarding school situations may be more difficult for boys who had grown up with intact families than for boys where there had been already some separation.

Most of the reported characteristics of the boys' fathers showed no significant relationship including amount father present, location and *size of father's birthplace*, *steadiness of father's work* and the *evaluation of the father's life and work*. However, there was a significant relationship with *father's education* with students whose fathers had more education doing more poorly.

	POOR	AVERAGE	GOOD	
Below high school	4	14	9	
High school	10	10	13	Chi square = 10.39 with 4 d.f.
College	6	7	0	$p<.05$

It will be recalled the same variable also tended to be related to academic performance. It appears that boys whose fathers had less educational opportunity have adjusted better to the program than boys whose fathers had more. With respect to *characteristics of the mother* no significant relationships were found. Adjustment ratings did not relate to the *amount she had been present*, *where she was born*, *her education* or her *occupation* if employed, or the *evaluation of her life*. Perhaps there was some slight tendency for students whose mothers were employed in white collar jobs to make poorer social adjustments (p between .10 and .05).

There was no relationship with *characteristics of the siblings*. This included *ordinal position in the family*, *number*, and the *schooling of older brothers or sisters*.

Social adjustment ratings showed no significant correlations with *location and size of the boy's home community*, whether or not the *neighborhood was racially mixed*, or with most *reported characteristics and likes or dislikes of the neighborhood*. There was a tendency for boys who *disliked the general appearance of their home neighborhood* to be making somewhat better adjustments (p between .10 and .05). Those who reported *lack of opportunity* among the *problems of boys growing up in the neighborhood* appeared to be adjusting significantly better.

	POOR	AVERAGE	GOOD	
Lack of opportunity mentioned	2	14	7	Chi square = 8.36 on 2 d.f.
Not mentioned	23	19	16	$p<.05$

So boys who were discontent with the appearance of their home community and felt that boys from that neighborhood lacked opportunity tended to be more likely to make a good adjustment to the program.

There were relatively few boys who had *previously attended parochial school* but of those who had a large number were making poorer social adjustments. The number of students involved was too few to run statistics or to generalize about extensively; however, possible reasons might include: 1) differences in discipline, (some boys from parochial schools had reported stricter discipline), 2) differences in teachers (some reported they preferred sisters as teachers), and 3) possible religious prejudice encountered or difficulties in adjustment to predominantly Protestant environments (though none of the boys specifically mentioned this). There were few relationships to the other reported characteristics of the previous school. There was no relationship of social adjustment to whether the schools were intergrated or not, the relative proportion of non-Whites or school size. Overall the boys' evaluation of their previous schools showed no significant relationships. However, those students who were very positive regarding their previous school tended to make better adjustment to their preparatory school. There was no relationship to reported physical condition of the school or reported school inadequacies except that the few boys who complained about athletic facilities at their old school tended to make a poorer adjustment to independent school. The social adjustment rating showed no relationship to specific likes or specific dislikes of the previous school except for the finding that students who mentioned no dislikes of their previous school tended to make a better social adjustment to their new school.

	POOR	AVERAGE	GOOD	
No dislikes mentioned	3	8	11	
Some dislikes mentioned	21	24	13	Chi square = 6.85 on 2 d.f. $p < .01$

From these data it appears that boys who made a good social adjustment to their independent schools were boys who had liked school generally and were not prone to be discontent.

The social adjustment rating showed no significant relationship to the students reported feelings about leaving their former school or to specific reasons cited for being either glad or sad to be leaving.

The boys' overall initial reaction to the ABC summer program showed no significant relationship. However, among the specific negative initial reactions there were some significant relationships. Those boys who were initially apprehensive about their academic and social adjustment tended to make better long-term adjustments to the program.

	POOR	AVERAGE	GOOD	
Initially apprehensive	1	12	5	Chi square = 6.85 on 2 d.f.
Not mentioned	23	20	19	$p < .05$

While those students who reported initial dislike of routine and study program tended to make a poorer social adjustment in preparatory school.

	POOR	AVERAGE	GOOD	
Disliked routine	7	11	0	Chi square = 10.17 on 2 d.f.
Not mentioned	17	21	24	$p < .01$

Thus it appears that boys who were initially concerned about making a good adjustment were more likely to make a good one eventually, while the students who initially disliked the demanding academic routine and study program tended to make a poorer long-term adjustment to the independent schools. As will be seen these findings fit nicely with further data to come, and also recall discussion in previous chapters.

Most of the specific initial positive reactions to the ABC program showed no significant relationships. However those boys who reported immediate initial liking to people in the program (staff and students) tended to be boys who also made good long-term adjustments.

	POOR	AVERAGE	GOOD	
Liked people	2	2	8	Chi square = 9.08 on 2 d.f.
Not mentioned	22	30	16	p<.01

Also those students who reported immediate liking of academic routine and study program showed significant tendency to be students who made good adjustments to preparatory school.

	POOR	AVERAGE	GOOD	
Liking routine	4	4	10	Chi square = 7.36 on 2 d.f.
Not mentioned	20	28	14	p<.05

Again it does not take much psychological insight to conclude that students who initially liked the people in the program and the kind of routine tended to make a good social adjustment to the independent schools. Among the further startling findings was that the boys' overall feelings of satisfaction and dissatisfaction with their academic work in the summer program were significantly related to their later social adjustment:

	POOR	AVERAGE	GOOD	
Dissatisfied	5	4	3	
Mixed	13	10	5	Chi square = 10.72 on 4 d.f.
Satisfied	5	18	16	p<.05

There was no relationship with specific courses in which difficulties were reported or with student comments and evaluations of academic work and teaching in the summer program.

There were no significant relationships with the comments made about the Resident Tutors. However, the reactions to the other boys and to dormitory living were very significant. With respect to the students' reports on how they got along with other boys in the suite the distribution was:

	POOR	AVERAGE	GOOD	
Negative and mixed	11	5	3	
Positive	10	20	10	Chi square = 14.23 on 4 d.f.
Very positive	3	7	11	p<.01

With respect to how they liked dormitory life and living in the suite the distribution was:

	POOR	AVERAGE	GOOD	
Negative and mixed	13	7	5	
Positive	8	18	7	Chi square = 17.12 on 4 d.f.
Very positive	2	7	12	p<.01

Clearly boys who made a good social adjustment to their preparatory school were also boys who had liked dormitory life and their fellow students during the initial summer program.

The relevance of such general satisfaction or dissatisfaction with respect to major features of the program was again evident in the specific favorable or unfavorable comments on the initial summer program. Those students who reported liking the study program and academic aspects of the initial summer were those likely to make a good social adjustment to independent school.

	POOR	AVERAGE	GOOD	
Liked study program	6	16	15	Chi square = 7.09 on 2 d.f.
Not mentioned	18	16	9	$p<.05$

With respect to unfavorable impressions of the summer program, those with specific complaints of certain features tended to make a poorer long-term adjustment. For example, 7 out of 8 boys who complained about the athletics in the summer program made poor adjustments to their independent schools and similarly boys who complained about the study program tended not to adjust as well. The students who had no complaints about any aspect of the summer program tended to make better adjustments in preparatory school.

	POOR	AVERAGE	GOOD	
No complaints	8	24	15	Chi square = 10.02 on 2 d.f.
Some complaints	16	8	9	$p<.01$

The 2-year follow-up rating on social adjustment showed no relationship with degree of reported changes in the self during the summer program or with particular changes mentioned, positive or negative.

There was no significant relationship of the social adjustment rating with future vocational or educational plans. The sole exception was that those students who mentioned science or technology as an intended vocation tended to make a better social adjustment than students who did not.

	POOR	AVERAGE	GOOD	
Science and technology	12	22	20	Chi square = 6.12 on 2 d.f.
Not mentioned	12	10	4	$p<.05$

Probably this association is to be explained more on the basis of the already noted high correlation of interest in technology and science with good academic performance.

The boys' specific favorable or unfavorable anticipations of preparatory school showed no significant relationship with the social adjustment ratings, with but one exception. The boys who were concerned about routine and lack of freedom tended to make a markedly poor adjustment to preparatory schools.

	POOR	AVERAGE	GOOD
Feared lack of freedom	6	3	0
Not mentioned	18	29	24

As expected values in some cells are less than five it is inappropriate to use chi square, however, relationship appears very strong. A similar kind of finding was indicated by the suggested improvements the students had made concerning the summer ABC program. Most of the suggestions showed no relationship to the students eventual adjustment, except for the suggestion that more free time was needed. There was a tendency (between .10 and .05) for students who did not mention this to be faring better in their social adjustment than students who did.

This examination of the relationship between the 2-year follow-up ratings on social adjustment and interview responses from the first summer has indicated that general background characteristics of the ABC students generally bore little relationship to the students social adjustment in preparatory school. What did seem much more closely related were their attitudes and responses to the summer program. Those students who disliked the routine and study program of ABC, who felt they were doing poorly in their academic work, and who reported they were not getting along well with fellow students during the first summer, were those who tended to make a poorer social adjustment to preparatory school. In contrast, ABC boys who had liked their previous schools also tended to be those who responded positively to the ABC summer program liking both the routine and study program and their fellow students. Their responses tended to be much more positive on both the academic and interpersonal aspects of the program. These latter boys were those who fared best in social adjustment in the independent schools.

INTELLIGENCE AND ACHIEVEMENT TESTS. Scores on intelligence and achievement tests generally showed no or only slight relationship with the social adjustment rating (Appendix C, Table 5). Thus academic ability and achievement potential as measured by the tests appeared to have rather little relationship to the ABC boys' social adjustment in preparatory school, though we have seen they did show significant relationship to their academic performance.

PERSONALITY AND INTEREST INVENTORIES. None of the scale scores on the Cattell "HSPQ" or Gough "CPI" showed significant correlation with the follow-up adjustment rating (Appendix C, Tables 6 & 7).

However, the "G-S-Z" Interest Survey did show some significant correlations with the follow-up social adjustment rating (Appendix C, Table 8). As the correlations with the social adjustment ratings were opposite in sign to the correlations with the academic ratings in some cases, their interpretation is of interest. (Of course we have already noted a general tendency for the birghter ABC boys to be more discriminating on this inventory, a general response set.) According to the "G-S-Z" scale correlations those students who were rated higher in social adjustment were also students who scored higher on "Mechanical: Designing" interests in activities and vocations involving design and engineering and "Outdoor: Athletic" interests in activities and vocations involving exercise, sports and coaching. These correlations suggest a masculine interest pattern that would fit well with peer group values and general sports emphasis at most of the preparatory schools.

There were no significant correlations of the social adjustment rating with the scales used to score the Tomkins-Horn "Picture Arrangement Test". (These data are not presented but were fully analyzed using the Miner, 1967, scoring system.)

INITIAL SUMMER RATINGS BY ABC STAFF. The ratings of the boys from the first summer were correlated with the follow-up social adjustment rating (Appendix C, Table 9). There were a number of significant relationships with the original ratings on scholastic work and attitudes. Most of the significant correlations with this section of the original ratings were in the area of academic interest, motivation, persistence and steadiness. The students who made a good social adjustment to preparatory school were those who had been rated high the first summer on traits such as good concentration, consistent and keen interest, involvement, ambitious, high standards, sustained effort, tries to improve, cooperative, persistent, steady, and excellent achievement relative to abilities. The boys who made poorer social adjustment to preparatory school had tended to be rated significantly more toward the lower ends of the scales indicating traits like poor concentration, rarely involved, little interest, unambitious, low standards, reluctant to change, disruptive, easily frustrated, erratic, and poor achievement relative to abilities. These motivational characteristics noted in the first summer ratings showed high relationship to the degree of social adjustment-maladjustment in preparatory school reported by the independent school staff. Again in this area the findings, while not particularly surprising, make good common sense. The boys who made good social adjustment in the independent schools tended to be the reliable, hard workers; while those who made poorer adjustments tended to be less academically motivated, showing little effort, reluctant to change, and erratic in performance.

The second section of the initial summer ratings covering general personality traits and characteristics showed a number of significant correlations with the 2-year follow-up rating on social adjustment. The relationships found present a consistent, if not surprising, portrait of the kinds of boys who made good social adjustments and those who made poor social adjustments in preparatory school. According to these initial summer ratings those boys who went on to make good social adjustments had been rated higher on traits of Outgoing, open, warm; Mature, steady, resourceful; Lively, active; Dependable, conscientious, responsible; Socially involved, enthusiastic group participant; Secure, confident; Disciplined, ordered, self-controlled; Relaxed, easy; Flexible, adaptable; Aware, many interests, broad; Reasonable, cooperative; Forthright, truthful, honest; Striving, directed, ambitious; Respected, looked-up-to, admired by peers; Popular, well liked by peers; Well-mannered, polite, tactful; and finally Outstanding, unusually fine personal talents and strengths. The students who made poorer social adjustments in preparatory school were those who at the end of the first summer on the same scales had been rated more toward the lower end of Reserved, detached, aloof; Immature, unstable, easily upset, unable to cope; Stodgy, inactive, phlegmatic; Undependable, unreliable, irresponsible; Socially detached, individualistic.

non-participant; *Worried, apprehensive, troubled*; *Undisciplined, lax*; *Tense, driven, high strung*; *Inconsiderate, insensitive to others*; *Inflexible, rigid*; *Unaware, few interests, limited*; *Rebellious, uncooperative*; *Evasive, false, dishonest*; *Drifting, apathetic, unambitious*; *Ignored, slighted, disparaged, ridiculed by peers*; *Unpopular, disliked by peers*; *Ill mannered, impolite, tactless*; and finally *Minimal, outstanding lack of personal talents and strengths*. An experienced psychologist looks at a list like this and feels that some "halo effect" of generalized favorable or unfavorable judgement may have been operating in the ratings. However, it should be noted that the trait ratings were carefully made at the end of the initial summer program by the ABC summer staff and the social adjustment rating was made on the basis of the detailed interviews with the independent school staff and the boys at the time of the 2-year follow-up study. So two separate and reasonably independent bodies of data are being related here. What does seem to be revealed are the traits that, in fact, seem to be related to good and poor social adjustment or happiness-unhappiness in school and in life generally (see Wessman & Ricks, 1966, pp. 170-173). The boys who made a good social adjustment in preparatory school were those who were popular and respected by their peers, who were directed and striving while being at the same time relaxed and open in interpersonal relationships. The boys who made poorer adjustments were those who had tended to be unpopular and looked down upon by their peers, and who did not relate well for various reasons such as apathy, insensitivity, social detachment, tenseness, or immaturity. It seems easier to describe the characteristics of the boys who adjusted well and tended to fit a pattern of all the social virtues, than the boys who adjusted poorly and who exhibited a greater variety of shortcomings and deficiencies.

SUMMARY

Using a variety of sources, we have reviewed student characteristics associated with academic performance and social adjustment. The characteristics found to be related were consistent and made good sense. The fact that a fair number of correlates of academic performance and social adjustment did emerge and formed consistent patterns is somewhat surprising considering the inherent problems in the research. To hope, to discover regularities in the correlates of performance of 82 boys at 39 different schools is a large gamble because of the many individual circumstances and differences in situations that influence performance. An aware psychologist becomes ever more impressed with the intricacies of the unique fit between and individual and his life circumstances - in concentrating on generalized traits and characteristics in isolation we are apt to miss the contributions, positive or negative, made by the surrounding environment. A school that would be gratifying and fulfilling for one boy might not be so for another. The academic and social demands differ from school to school. The concrete question of why *this* particular individual in *this* particular setting is or is not doing well, unfortunately is lost in a large scale correlational study and we are limited to the more general patterns that held across many different boys in many different schools. Among the aspects investigated general overall background characteristics showed little relationship, but characteristics and attitudes more directly relevant to the actual features of the program and its demands were of greater significance.

Regarding the correlates of overall academic performance, most general background characteristics showed no relationship (with the exception that American Indian students were having a more difficult time academically). Thus ethnic group, regional background, parental income and occupation, sibling education, home community characteristics, and school characteristics showed no strong relationship with academic performance. There was a slight indication that perhaps degree of parental education was inversely related to how well the students were doing. Within this group of boys, whether or not their home community was racially mixed, and whether or not they had attended integrated or segregated schools, appeared to have no relationship to how they did academically. What did bear more relation to the boys academic performance in preparatory school were their reported responses and reactions to the ABC summer program. Boys who had been initially apprehensive and concerned about how they might do in the long run fared better. Boys who reported they initially disliked the routine and study program in the summer tended to do more poorly. Future vocational interests and college plans bore little relationship with how well they did academically, with the exception that students oriented toward science and technology tended to do better work. What was most significantly related to the boys subsequent academic performance in preparatory schools were their scores on the intelligence and achievement tests they took on entering the program. Students who scored low on these tests were those who encountered greater difficulty with and did more poorly in their academic work in preparatory school. Personality inventory findings indicated the boys who did better work in preparatory school tended to be more conforming, serious, tender-minded, conscientious, responsible, dependable, foresighted, self-reliant, and efficient. While the poorer students tended to be more assertive, aggressive, happy-go-lucky, lazy, anxious, and unambitious. Trait ratings of the boys by the ABC summer staff supported this picture. The students whose academic work was better in preparatory school had been rated high on concentration, involvement in work, interest, ambition, self-reliance, persistence, and similar characteristics. While those students whose academic work was poorer in preparatory school had been rated poor in concentration, rarely involved, unambitious, unimaginative, easily frustrated, and so forth. The kinds of traits related to good or poor performance in any school situation seemed to be the traits and characteristics related to the level of academic performance of the ABC students in the preparatory schools. Despite the recognized reservations and criticisms regarding intelligence and achievement tests these measures were found to be the most efficient and reliable set of predictors of academic performance in this study.

The social adjustment rating of the boys was found to be highly related to their academic performance (.56 correlation between the ratings). Generally the boys who were doing well academically had made good social adjustments. Thus it was to be expected that there would be considerable overlap in the traits and characteristics associated with both the academic work and social adjustment ratings. This was generally the case, though more socially relevant characteristics, particularly with respect to peer relationships, emerged as related to the social adjustment aspects. As with academic performance, the social adjustment ratings showed rather little relationship to general overall background characteristics. Ethnic group, age, family income, and intactness of home were all unrelated. There was a significant tendency for boys whose fathers had had greater education to make poorer adjustments, but otherwise characteristics of the father and his work showed no relationship with social adjustment. No relationships were found with reported characteristics of the mother or of siblings. Similarly there were few relationships indicated regarding characteristics of the boys home community or their previous schooling - though the few boys who attended parochial schools earlier seemed to be making poorer social adjustment in preparatory school. No relationship was found with other reported characteristics of the previous school, including whether the schools were segregated or integrated and the relative proportion of non-Whites. There was evidence indicating that boys who reported no dislikes at their previous school tended to make a better social adjustment to the ABC program. Again we found that what was more significant were student attitudes toward Project ABC. Boys who had been initially apprehensive and concerned about how they would adjust tended to be those who in the long-term made better adjustments in preparatory school. Boys who initially disliked the routine and academic work during the summer had a more difficult social adjustment in preparatory school. These initial reactions during the first summer appeared very significant in a variety of respects. Most important was a boy's general reaction to the demands of the academic schedule and routine. Also of great significance was his reaction to dormitory life and relationship to other students in the program. Boys who liked dormitory living and got along well with fellow students during the initial summer were those who tended to go on to make good adjustments in preparatory school, while boys who disliked dormitory living and got along poorly with their fellow students during the summer tended to adjust poorly in the preparatory schools. Boys who complained about various aspects of the summer program made poorer adjustments than boys who didn't complain. These reactions to the summer program also held with regard to the students anticipation of preparatory school. Boys who were worried about and thought they would probably dislike the scheduled routine at preparatory schools were, in fact, students who made poorer adjustments once they were in preparatory school. Thus these attitudes and reactions to their initial experience in the program appeared very important. Intelligence and achievement tests and personality inventory scores showed no significant relationships with social adjustment. Thus personality traits as measured by the particular tests employed had no predictive value concerning social adjustment to the program. Some interest inventory scores did show some relationship indicating that students with mechanical interests and athletic interests made somewhat better adjustment. By-and-large, the standardized psychological inventories contributed little in this area. (Though in Chapter 7 we found them of value in interpreting student changes over the 2-year period.) However, the initial summer trait ratings by the ABC staff did show many significant relationships with the 2-year follow-up information on social adjustment. Many of the ratings dealing with scholastic work and attitudes showed significant correlations. Thus the students who made better social adjustments were initially rated higher on a variety of traits indicating high involvement and interest in their work, sustained effort and persistance, good progress, and so forth. While students whose social adjustment in preparatory school was poor tended to be rated lower on traits that would indicate lack of involvement and interest, little effort, easily frustrated, erratic performance, poor achievement relative to abilities. With respect to more general personality traits and characteristics the boys who made better social adjustments tended to be seen as more socially outgoing and popular, respected by their peers, self-confident and relaxed, flexible and adaptive, ambitious, and responsible. The more poorly adjusted boys had initially been rated as more socially detached, withdrawn, unpopular and not respected by their peers, immature and apprehensive, insensitive, rigid, drifting, apathetic, or tense and driven. The boys who made a better social adjustment appeared to be the kind who would fit in well because of a variety of acceptable traits and characteristics. While those who did poorly were those who had a variety of personal difficulties and problems.

Looking at all this data from a variety of sources on characteristics associated with academic performance and with social adjustment we find a body of significant relationships which make good sense even though (or perhaps because) they are not particularly startling. The students who did well academically in preparatory school were able and had the necessary mastery and self-discipline to succeed, while those who did poorly were either less capable or showed lower motivation and capacity to meet the scholastic demands. The students who made good social adjustment in preparatory school tended to be dependable and responsible boys who were popular with their peers, while those who made poor social adjustments tended to be more apathetic and withdrawn and were unpopular for various reasons such as immaturity, apathy, or hostility. In the light of these findings there are no startling new recommendations to be made for the selection of ABC students. The primary selection criteria for this particular program should continue to be demonstrated academic ability and performance indicating that the boy has the resources and desire to make the necessary transitions and the kind of self-confidence and personal strength that allows him to benefit from the challenges and opportunities of a new and demanding environment.

CHAPTER 9

ATTRITION

An evaluation of Project ABC should pay special attention to the boys who did not continue in the program. We should investigate the reasons they dropped out and what happened to them subsequently. Therefore we attempted to have the follow-up of students who left the program be as complete and full as the follow-up of those who continued.

It will be recalled that there were 82 boys who entered the summer program in the Dartmouth ABC '65 class selected for study. At the time of the two-year follow-up study, 66 of the boys had continued in the program and 16 had dropped out, making a 20% attrition rate for the two-year period. (At the beginning of the fourth year, 34 were continuing in preparatory school, 27 had graduated and were attending college, and 21 had dropped out, making a 26% attrition rate for the three-year period). Our report is based on the two-year follow-up. Of the 16 boys who had dropped out of the program at that point, 8 left during the first summer (i.e. they never attended independent school) and the other 8 had gone on to independent schools and attended for a year or more before leaving. In both groups of 8 boys, 7 were successfully reinterviewed. Thus of the 16 drop-out boys, at the end of two years 14 were reinterviewed. (Also 13 of these 16 boys were satisfactorily retested on the battery of psychological tests and their data was included in the test results reported in earlier chapters.)

The only gaps in what otherwise would be a complete follow-up record on these drop-out boys resulted from: 1) an uncooperative mother who refused our repeated attempts to reestablish contact with her son,, and 2) a large metropolitan school system that refused to divulge a former student's new home address over the telephone and failed to respond to written requests for the information. In all other cases the students, their families, informants and ABC resource people in the home communities were exceptionally cooperative in assisting in this follow-up study of boys who had left the program. The boys were interviewed and retested in their home communities, both urban and rural, in areas of the east, south, mid-west, and plains states two years after their initial participation in the program.

First we will examine the reasons for not continuing further of the boys who attended only the summer program; then we will examine the reasons for leaving of the boys who had gone on to preparatory school but eventually dropped out; finally we will examine the subsequent histories of both groups.

CAUSES OF ATTRITION IN BOYS WHO ATTENDED ONLY THE SUMMER PROGRAM

In accounting for the reasons these students did not continue in the program, the sources of information are the boys' own responses to the original and follow-up interviews (Appendix D, Schedule 1 and 5), interviews with informants in their home community (Appendix D, Schedule 6), notes taken at ABC summer staff meetings, and the written reports on the boys by the summer faculty members and resident tutors.

Summarizing this information, the occasion and the main reasons for attrition of the 8 students who attended only the initial summer program were:

- 2 boys left very early during the first two weeks of the summer program:
    - 1 boy because he was so homesick and unhappy that he requested to return home.
    - 1 boy because he was extremely disruptive and such a constant discipline problem that the summer staff decided he should be sent home.
- 5 boys were not recommended to go on to independent school by the staff at the end of the summer:
    - 4 boys because of extremely poor academic work due to low motivation (3 boys) or limited ability (1 boy).
    - 1 boy because of adjustment difficulties due to his general rigidity and inability to adapt, plus some deficiency in academic motivation.
- 1 boy was recommended to go on to independent school but decided not to go apparently because of family desires that he remain at home.

We shall examine some of the main features of these cases to clarify the reasons the boys left the program.

BOYS WHO LEFT EARLY THE FIRST SUMMER. The first boy who left early during the summer was an American Indian from an isolated reservation on the Western Plains. This boy experienced the severe cultural and environmental shock encountered by many other Indian students, but because of his low motivation and lack of desire to change he did not feel it was worthwhile to remain. Shortly after the beginning of the program he asked to go home and could not be persuaded to continue. Two years later he reported:

> "I was there a little short of two weeks. The only thing I really did like was the sports. The program was pretty strict. I wasn't used to being that confined. I was younger and it didn't appeal to me. I decided to go home myself. I was so lonely and homesick. It was a lot different than around here. The people were different. The Negroes tended to stick together. There were not enough Indian boys.
>
> "I didn't really want to go to private school. I had said so, but my guidance counselor had put in my name anyway. I didn't want to go. I don't think I would have liked a school in the east anyway. I like to hunt and ride horses; but I did get a lot of experience talking to different people. I had never realized how they lived there. I live on a ranch and I like it here. I wouldn't care to live in a town at all. I work in the field for Dad running the tractor and taking care of jobs. I want to become a veterinarian and study ranch management. I want to work with livestock. I wouldn't want to be in an office.

> "It was a nice place to visit, but I wouldn't want to stay there. I was too confined, it was not for me. It was not what I wanted and I didn't make any friends there. Everything was planned and we didn't have no time to relax. We couldn't take it easy." (Case 082)

One of his high school teachers who had known him well for many years reported:

> "The cultural factors were very important. His father is White, and his mother is Indian. It has been hard for him to decide which direction he wants to go. He lives on the reservation. He was unhappy in the east, it wasn't what he really wanted. He tends to be afraid and lonely. Many Indian boys have a lot to overcome and tend to withdraw and isolate themselves. He was unhappy in the program and homesick. Also he felt he was classified with the colored boys and didn't like it, he is more accepted as a White boy here." (Case 082)

It might be noted that there was another Indian boy who had been accepted to the Dartmouth program that year but decided not to come and therefore was no included in our group.

The other boy who left early during the first summer was sent home by the staff. He was a Negro from a large metropolitan area who caused considerable faculty concern during the first few weeks of the summer program. All his instructors felt he was bright and able but that he seriously impeded the work of the other boys both in the classroom and in the dormitory. His teachers reported him brash and flip in class and disturbing to the classroom atmosphere. In the dining halls he embarassed many boys and staff by his clowning, running about and general noisy horseplay. He was having a bad effect on 6 or 7 other boys in the dormitory because he prevented them from working. A number of the staff had found him aggressive and distrustful of everyone. When repeated warnings and serious talks by staff members failed to produce improvement, it was reluctantly decided that he should return home - primarily because of his disruptive effects on other students. In the follow-up interview two years later he did not have much to say regarding the reasons he was asked to leave.

> "I played around too much. I and some of the other boys got into trouble. We played around a lot and I got into trouble playing pranks. I wanted to stay but felt if they wanted to send me home I couldn't do anything about it. It bothered me a little." (Case 081)

His high school principal at home reported that although a highly intelligent boy with many attractive qualities, he had continued to be very disruptive in school and had the reputation of being a very difficult boy.

BOYS WHO WERE NOT RECOMMENDED. There were 5 students who completed the summer at Dartmouth but were not recommended for entrance to independent school by the ABC summer staff. Included in the 5 were 3 Negroes, 1 Puerto Rican, and 1 American Indian. In 4 cases the reasons for not recommending the boy were primarily academic, either because of low abilities (1 boy) or low motivation (3 boys). In the other case the reason was partly deficiencies in academic motivation, but mainly adjustment difficulties because of general social rigidity and inability to adapt.

The 4 students not recommended because of severe academic problems were the object of great concern on the part of the summer school faculty. All had received intensive extra help from their faculty members and resident tutors, but it was felt that because of their extreme academic handicaps that they would be unable to survive in the preparatory schools even with further help and special attention. They had severe limitations in most aspects of the basic curriculum: mathematics, English, and reading. It was felt despite some gains during the summer, that they still would be too handicapped academically to be able to compete scholastically and that they probably would fail in preparatory school.

The academic handicaps, either in abilities or motivation, of the boys who were "Not Recommended" were severe. Typical was a Negro boy who received the following comments in the final reports from his teachers. His English teacher wrote:

> "He is a pleasant boy but one whose performance has been in every way unsatisfactory. He has slightly less than average potential in English but has made no progress and his work has been very disappointing. He has shown absolutely no motivation. I have tried to awaken him but nothing has worked. I cannot recommend him."
>
> (Case 020)

His reading teacher wrote:

> "He has more difficulty with motivation than with reading. His poor performance is usually due to a lack of interest. He certainly does not work to potential and just has not tried. His attitude is very poor and he has made very little progress this summer. He is a very poor risk and should not be recommended."
>
> (Case 020)

His mathematics teacher wrote:

> "He is a boy with limited ability but he is no less in doubt than many of his classmates this summer. His problems stem from a complete lack of effort and little desire to succeed. On his daily preparation he was just 'going through the motions' if indeed he bothered to do it at all. In class he showed no interest in material being presented and did nothing to overcome his weaknesses. He was given much help and encouragement but failed to respond. At no time during the summer did he show any progress. His achievement has been consistently unsatisfactory." (Case 020)

His resident tutor wrote:

> "He has been a disappointment. His effort has been minimal...I doubt this boy really cares. He does not listen when something is explained, he does not ask questions, and he does not attempt to learn what he gets wrong.
>
> "He is liked by his peers for his athletic achievements and talents for horsing around. He does not seem dull in ordinary social interaction. He is healthy and vigorous. I can make excuses for a less than good scholastic performance but certainly not for the atrocious one he has given. I do not believe he will succeed at school." (Case 020)

Interviewed two years later he appeared apathetic and unambitious. About the summer program he commented:

> "I didn't like the lack of freedom there. The rules and regulations were kind of strict. I didn't like to have to study after lunch and I didn't like having to turn the lights out so early. It was a nice project but I didn't like being away from home too much. My troubles were mainly because I didn't put forth enough effort. I didn't want to go away to school very much, that and homesickness were my main problems. It didn't really bother me that I wasn't recommended, just a little after I saw the way my Mother and Father took it. But it didn't bother me for too long. I feel now I made a mistake, because you don't get an opportunity like that all of the time. But it was a mistake for me to go, I didn't get much out of it because I didn't work. I didn't do much while I was there."
>
> (Case 020)

There were three such boys who were "Not Recommended" because of low academic motivation. All received equally critical comments from all their instructors and on the follow-up interviews candidly admitted their lack of effort.

The fourth boy who was not recommended for academic reasons received more positive comments from his teachers. However, despite his efforts, it was felt that he was so handicapped in the basic academic skills that it would be unwise to place him in a highly competitive academic setting. In the follow-up interview he felt that he was at fault and should have studied harder and put forth more effort. Though he had been disappointed by his failure to qualify he felt he had made gains during the summer. He had further difficulty in his home school, failing and having to repeat courses in science and mathematics, though his overall average was passing. On the basis of his performance at home it appears probable that he would have failed in independent school.

Obviously it is difficult to know if the correct decision was made in these cases. However, the subsequent academic records of these boys in their home schools was poor and it is doubtful whether they would have succeeded in the independent schools. Previous chapters have discussed the problems encountered by ABC boys whose abilities and motivation were low. It would appear that when the evidence of academic difficulty is as great as it was in these cases that it is better for the boys not to go on to independent schools.

The fifth boy in the "Not Recommended" group had such great problems in adjusting to the summer program that the ABC summer staff felt that he would be unable to cope with the demands of boarding school life. He had a very severe eating problem and was unable to eat the food served in the dining halls. His main diet at home was french fried potatoes, soda, and other snacks consumed at irregular hours. He was unable to eat dining hall food at the regular hours. During the early weeks of the program he lost between 20 and 30 pounds and was placed in the college infirmary for tests, observation, and psychiatric interviews. The medical reports were inconclusive and no clear-cut recommendations could be made. However, it was felt that psychotherapy was not indicated and that the problem was not manifestly emotional disturbance. However, it was felt that he should not be put under the pressure of having to adjust to boarding school life. While his teachers were mixed in their opinion of his work, with some feeling he had ability that he did not use and others feeling that both ability and motivation were low; all reported him "rigid" and unwilling to make necessary changes. Though noting genuine talents, his resident tutor reported the boys' interests were limited and his work ineffective.

> "He is very set in his old habits, he is unwilling to try new experiences - swimming, rock climbing, study habits, dancing, and, of course, eating. He is timid and not willing to take chances with himself, to really expend himself and explore his abilities...His peers treat him as the outsider and make him the brunt of their jokes. He takes their joshing very passively. While they have tried at times and shown some understanding, they can't establish good relationships with him and find him hard to accept ...It is a question whether his talents and potential can outweigh his timidity, his lack of interests and motivation." (Case 021)

Because his adjustment was so problematic it was felt the risks of sending him on to independent school were too great. At the time of the two-year follow-up his attitude toward the program and particularly the academic aspects were mainly positive. However he recalled the adjustment difficulties:

> "At the time I didn't think it was much fun. I was mainly not recommended because I wasn't eating. I was sad looking and emaciated. I lost 40 pounds and I was not doing too good in math and was very untidy and lagged behind in hikes and activities. I had mixed emotions when I wasn't recommended. At first I felt pretty bad and that I let people down. But then I felt that it was for my own good because I had lost so much weight and

> probably wouldn't have improved in prep school. It bothered me for a little time but I figured it was best for me to stay home." (Case 021)

RECOMMENDED BOY WHO DID NOT CONTINUE. There was an eighth boy who did not go on to independent school. He had been recommended by the ABC summer faculty but he decided not to go. The reasons for his decision are obscure because this was the only case in which a follow-up interview was impossible because of lack of family cooperation. His work during the summer had been fairly satisfactory and his teachers generally felt that he had somewhat above average academic potential and was fairly well motivated. Though he had ability, his teachers regarded him as somewhat "immature" and "juvenile", and an "unconcerned little boy". In his interview at the end of the first summer he had little of significance to report; but did comment that he was afraid that he would miss home, and that his mother had at first wanted him to go to independent school but gradually seemed to be changing her mind. He reported that he had found living in the dormitory with the other boys "kind of hard to take" because of their pranks and teasing. He was worried about homesickness and the long study hours in preparatory school. Repeated attempts to reinterview him two years later were frustrated by his mother who said he was "too busy" with other activities and that there was no time at which he would be available. The guidance counselor in his high school who knew the local ABC boys well said that he doubted the boy was this busy and that the only reasonable conclusion was that the mother did not wish to have him further contacted by the ABC program. This guidance counselor was of the opinion that it had been the mother's decision, rather than the boy's, that he not go on to preparatory school. The boy's parents had separated when he was very young and he was the only child. The guidance counselor felt that the boy's mother had decided that she preferred to have him remain at home rather than "losing him".

In conclusion of the 8 boys (10% of the entire group) who "dropped out" of the program during the first summer: 4 boys were "Not recommended" for academic reasons; and 4 did not continue because of adjustment difficulties (one left early on his own accord, one was sent home for disruptive behavior, one was not recommended because of eating problems and general rigidity, and one chose not to go on becuuse of family pressures).

CAUSES OF ATTRITION IN BOYS WHO LEFT INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS

At the time of the two-year follow-up study 8 students had left (or were about to be dropped from) the independent schools. All had attended at least a full school year or more. In accounting for the reasons these students left the sources of information are: 1) interviews with independent school staff (Appendix D, Schedule 2) on all 8 boys; 2) two-year follow-up interviews with the boys themselves regarding their experience in independent schools (Appendix D, Schedule 3) with additional questions on their reasons for leaving the school and their subsequent histories (Appendix D, Schedule 4) available for 7 of the 8 boys; and 3) additional information from local informants in the boys' home community (Appendix D, Schedule 6) available for 4 of the boys.

First we shall attempt to classify the main reasons for the students leaving their independent schools. Using all the available information the main reasons for attrition of the 8 students leaving independent schools were:

- 6 boys left because of academic difficulties primarily including:
  - 2 because of both very low academic abilities and low motivation
    - (In both these cases the decision that the boys should not return was made jointly by the school staff and the student.)
  - 4 because of very low motivation though the boys' academic abilities were sufficient so that they could have remained in school. However, their lack of academic motivation was responsible for consistent academic failure.
    - (In 3 cases the decision not to continue was mutually arrived at by student and school staffs; in 1 case the boy himself decided to withdraw even though the faculty was reluctant to see him go. In 3 of the 4 cases there also was some problem of social adjustment to the peer group at the school, though academic failure was the major determinant of the student's leaving.)
- 2 boys withdrew because of social adjustment difficulties mainly they disliked the strictness and confinement at their school. This was their own decision and contrary to the desires of the school staffs who encouraged the boys to remain.
  - (In both these cases the academic records were satisfactory: in one case with average grades, in the other case with outstanding grades. On the surface their social adjustment appeared good but the boys themselves were unhappy with the schools and boarding school life and wished to withdraw.)

We will now look more closely at the reasons they had to leave school.

BOYS LEAVING SCHOOL BECAUSE OF LOW ACADEMIC ABILITY AND LOW ACADEMIC MOTIVATION. The 2 boys who had to leave preparatory school because of both low academic ability and low motivation were both American Indian students whose grades were consistently failing. Both were working considerably below customary grade level for their age. One was about three years below appropriate grade level and the other was given a very reduced course load. Even with these adjustments both were failing 3 courses and were near failing in their remaining work. Compared with other students in their schools, both were near the bottom of their class and performed poorly on all standardized tests. Both made little or no progress, and in addition to their limited abilities were regarded as seriously lacking in academic motivation. Both had poor retention, were poor in basic language and mathematical skills, and seriously deficient in all aspects of their academic work. They did not put forth much effort and were frustrating to their teachers because of their lack of involvement. Yet both were regarded as likeable boys with many attractive personal characteristics. It was felt because of the inadequacy of their previous training and lack of genuine desire to improve that they did not belong in a competitive academic atmosphere. Both boys got along well with their peers and were popular and outstanding in sports. However, it was evident to all the faculty members that they were miserably homesick and depressed by the rigors of the academic work and their academic failure.

Both boys had grown up on isolated Indian reservations and were strongly identified and proud of their tribes and their customs. For both boys the greatest enthusiasm they evidenced was talking about life at home. Apparently neither could find much relevance of the academic work to their previous way of life or to their future plans. According to the faculty accounts, in both cases the boys probably did not have strong desire to come initially and certainly after exposure to the demands at their new school were eager to return home. Both appeared relieved when it finally was decided by the school authorities and the boys themselves that it probably would be better if they didn't continue.

In the follow-up interview both boys said that they had been near the bottom of their class; and that although it had bothered and depressed them, they never were able to develop steady study habits or "get into the swing of things". Both hated the restrictions and felt terribly confined at school. Both felt they had been treated fairly and sympathetically by the faculty and other students but that they were too unhappy and depressed to continue. As one of them put it:

> "The work was much more difficult than anything I had ever been up against. It was more detailed and demanding. I was dissatisfied with the way I was doing. It was poorer than I had expected. I couldn't get into the swing of regular hours of study. I don't know why, but I never did. I just couldn't get into the swing of things. I didn't especially like the town. It did not really set with me. There was too much activity, you always had to be doing something. I like the wide open spaces and freedom...It's hard to take an Indian off the reservation. I wasn't able to settle down and study. I wanted to leave more than anything else. I just felt I couldn't keep up with the rest of them. I was happy to finally be home. I feel more comfortable here. I like the open spaces, I like to go riding." (Case 014)

For these and other American Indian boys discussed earlier it is evident how difficult the transition often was, particularly when they had grown up on isolated western plains reservations and were strongly identified with their tribes. Some were doing good and even outstanding work in their schools, but for most of the American Indian students the transition had been very difficult. It is clear that the selection and screening of American Indian students for the ABC program should be done carefully, - certainly more carefully than it was done in a number of the cases in this group. The students selected should not be too severely handicapped by the inadequacies of their previous education and should show strong evidence of ability and motivation. American Indian students who met these requirements have fared well. Beside sufficient academic abilities and motivation, there must be a genuine desire to make the necessary adjustments. The life style and goals of many Indian boys were such that the ABC program could offer them little. They preferred to remain at home and were more interested in farming and ranching. The relevance of an eastern boarding school education to their basic desires and wants was small. Certainly American Indian youth has been enormously handicapped educationally and requires special help, but educational programs designed for these boys must meet their genuine needs and desires. The educational needs of most American Indian boys undoubtedly would be better served with programs more appropriate to their life circumstances. To avoid needless failure special programs for the disadvantaged should satisfy the real needs and desires of the students. For a number of the Indian boys in Project ABC this was clearly not the case. However for some the program did prove beneficial.

BOYS LEAVING SCHOOL BECAUSE OF LOW ACADEMIC MOTIVATION. There were 4 boys, all Negroes, who dropped out of independent schools primarily because of low academic motivation: 3 had failing records and were dismissed for this reason, while the other had low passing grades and himself decided to withdraw. We will consider the 3 failing students together as their records were very similar. All had average or above average ability, certainly sufficient to meet the academic requirements. All received regular placement in their courses. However, all were failing two or more major subjects and near failing in the rest. They were described as "very disappointing" by the school staffs and were reported to have gotten worse rather than better while they were in school. They were uninvolved in class work, careless and erratic in homework preparation, studying far less than average, and often failing to complete assignments. All were described as unmotivated, lacking in self-discipline and effort. They were minimally involved in extracurricular activities and were described as lazy and uninvolved in the athletic program. While 2 were described as aloof with classmates and somewhat unpopular, the other was fairly popular. All were described as never having become fully involved in the life of the school and not entering into activities. Their major adjustment difficulties however appeared to predominantly stem from inability to apply themselves in school work and meet the academic requirements. All were described as having become somewhat depressed and upset regarding their poor school performance, but despite this dissatisfaction never making any real effort to come to terms with the work. It was felt in all 3 cases that there probably were emotional blocks and problems hampering their effectiveness but the exact causes could not be determined. They had received considerable extra attention and a great deal of staff time was spent in the attempt to help them improve. However, when there was not improvement but rather deterioration the boys were told that it would be impossible to have them continue in the school. In 2 of the 3 cases psychiatric help was offered at the school's expense but was not accepted.

The boys' own accounts of the reasons for their failures were rather similar. All freely admitted that they had been doing little or no work. For 2 of the boys the work was much harder and in greater amounts than they had ever had before, while the other found it not especially difficult. However, all 3 described themselves as lazy and lacking in academic discipline. They worked much less than the other students and skipped or did not apply themselves during study hours. All were aware that they were at the bottom of their class and were upset and depressed about it. Yet despite their dissatisfaction they reported themselves unable to apply themselves. As their work failed to improve they became increasingly frustrated and resented the pressures they felt were being put on them by the teachers and rejected attempts to help. All reported lack of enthusiasm for activities and sports at school. Though they felt generally well accepted by classmates, they considered themselves somewhat apart and outsiders. They participated little in social activities and dating and reported that they never did have much social interest. However, all felt that their adjustment had not been especially difficult aside from their lack of desire to become involved in activities and the obvious academic problems. All reported that a number of teachers had tried to help them and that they were aware of much genuine concern, but that they had tended to resent it and wanted to be left alone. All were now worried about their chances for college admission and whether they would ever settle down and "find themselves". All 3 felt greatly disappointed in themselves, guilty and ashamed with continuing regrets. To give some sense of these continuing feelings of disappointment we will quote one of the boys:

> "It was a decent program, I liked it very much but I never had the right attitude, I messed it up. I took it as a plaything, I was too immature and had a bad attitude towards school. I was too young and didn't try. My headmaster was a great guy but I didn't do well. Perhaps they thought too much of me and expected too much. They really wanted to help you and really cared about you...I'd rather not discuss my grades. I hated myself, I was so disgusted I felt I had to leave. I felt I could do better and that I was a disgrace. My Mother put a lot of pressure on me to do well, I just couldn't take the pressure...I stayed about the same, I felt I was learning nothing. I tried to study but I couldn't, I was too easily distracted and skipped study halls. I was immature, not able to discipline myself and concentrate. There was too much pressure. I felt like I could scream. They expected the world but I could only give a piece of sand. I was very disappointed and just gave up on everything. The only thing that kept me going was the headmaster , he tried to help...I wanted to leave. I felt guilty that I wasn't fulfilling my potential and I was letting my Mother, the headmaster , and teachers down. I made up my own mind that I wanted to leave and told the headmaster I wanted to leave. He wasn't shaken and was the same to me for the rest of the year, very helpful. Perhaps they should have been stricter with me and kept after me more. It bothered me a

> lot and I felt ashamed. I regretted leaving. I knew I probably never could go back and I was disappointing others and letting them down. I was depressed. I felt I was giving up and am still disgusted and angry with myself.
>
> "Last year I would say I wish I had never met up with the program but now I am glad. There was a lot of help at ABC and prep school. They helped you a lot. You learned to talk and the people there cared but they cannot help you if you don't care. I think I have matured slightly and am growing up. I am seeing some of my stupid mistakes."
>
> (Case 074)

The fourth student who left independent school mainly because of lack of academic motivation differed somewhat. His grade average was low but not failing and he had more social adjustment difficulties. He was behind a year in his academic work and had failed a language. However, he did have honor grades in English. His academic potential was regarded as "low average" and his motivation was low. His work was better at the beginning of the year and he made very little improvement. He was withdrawn, not participating in classes, and had poor study habits. At first he tried, but as the work became increasingly more demanding he appeared to feel too much was expected and gradually gave up. He did little in activities or sports. His social adjustment was poor and he responded little to the attempts of the other students to become friendly. Later he became the butt of pranks and teasing. It was felt he found it very hard to adjust because of emotional tightness and poor communication. He returned briefly at the beginning of his second year but after a few days told the dean that he wanted to go home. He said that he felt that there was no reason for him to be there, that he wanted eventually to start a small business in his home community and did not see the need for a college education. He said school was a chore to him and demanded things that he could not see the reason for. On the follow-up interview he reported that he had been homesick and depressed at school, that he had never gotten accustomed to doing homework and could not concentrate. He reported that he didn't like the work and would rather read magazines. He said he felt "dumb" and couldn't concentrate or work as hard and as fast as was expected. He was one of the students who was quoted earlier regarding the pranks and jokes that were played on him by his classmates. He reported he felt like an outsider and was depressed and numb. About withdrawing he said:

> "After summer vacation I just didn't feel like starting the whole thing over - all the work and the schedule. I missed my friends at home and would rather be back with them playing in a jazz band. I just didn't seem to fit in at the beginning of the second year. I didn't like things and was disinterested in school. I couldn't get anything out of it. I felt that for what I wanted to do I didn't need school and that it wasn't worth going through it all again. I decided to leave by myself and I made up my mind that I was determined to go back home. The

> headmaster told me that if I wanted to come back I could. They tried hard to keep me there.
>
> "It bothered me that people had spent money at school and that my family and teachers at home wanted me to take advantage of the opportunity. I felt bad that I did disappoint people but it doesn't bother me now. I have gotten over it. I returned to high school here for a few months but I didn't feel any relief until I dropped out of that too. I have been out of school now for a whole year and I don't expect to graduate. I was glad when I dropped out, I was relieved. I didn't like school and homework, I didn't like getting up in the morning - I finally felt _free_!" (Case 011)

A guidance counselor in the local high school who knows him well reported that his academic record before ABC was very poor and that he should not have been recommended. He dropped out of the local high school after a month and since that time had been unemployed except for occasional playing in a dance band. He and a friend had vague plans for starting a business, but no capital and no working experience.

BOYS LEAVING SCHOOL BECAUSE OF ADJUSTMENT DIFFICULTIES. There were two boys, both Negro, who left their schools early in the second year for reasons that were not readily apparent to the staff at their schools. Neither boy was in academic difficulty. One had a satisfactory passing record although he was a year behind, and the other had an outstanding record. Both appeared to have made very good adjustments to their school; they were popular. Yet both boys withdrew within a few weeks of the beginning of their second year for reasons not readily apparent to the school staffs. For both boys we have the school staff reports, and for one we have the follow-up interview with the boy himself. For the other we do not have the follow-up interview because he had moved and the local school system would not provide his address and other attempts to trace him proved unsuccessful. We will attempt to fit the pieces together and see why these apparently successful boys withdrew from their schools.

The first boy, for whom we have both sources of information, was reported by the school to be one of the top students academically with consistently fine work. He had no academic difficulties and was described as "always on top of the work" and striving for perfection. He was also described as an outstanding athlete with the potential of being a "star", yet perhaps holding back somewhat. He was popular among the students and was seen as a potential class officer. Yet some faculty retrospectively felt that despite his acceptance perhaps he felt something of an outsider and kept himself aloof. On the surface it had appeared that his adjustment was very easy, but because of his later withdrawal the faculty felt there must have been problems that were not apparent. Concerning the withdrawal, a faculty member reported that he was still mystified:

> "He left on his own decision at the beginning of the second year. He was in good standing with an A- average. Many of the faculty and students and the headmaster urged

> him to stay. The reasons he gave for leaving were: that he was not able to feel free to be himself; that he was not able to communicate with the other boys; that he did not like the required sports; and that he had a girl at home. I'm not sure of the real reason. I also wondered if it was a problem that he could not or would not refrain from smoking. Anyway he said he felt he could do as well in preparation for college in his home high school. I also wonder if there wasn't an influence from friends at home to come back." (Case 026)

In the follow-up the boy himself reported that he had been pleased with his work but felt that perhaps the faculty was too easily satisfied with how he was doing and should have challenged him more. He got along very well with the other students, made many friends, and felt he belonged. His main dissatisfaction was with the restrictions and regimentation of boarding school life:

> "It was not at all what I expected. I was disappointed because I had expected it to look like Dartmouth. The campus was smaller and the physical appearance didn't appeal to me. The buildings were falling apart and the facilities were poor. It was pretty regimented. It was almost like military school with lots of restrictions and lots you couldn't do. There was no chance to get away from the school to do anything outside. The restrictions bothered me increasingly. The rules were very rigid and they would take away a lot of privileges when things went wrong. There was no smoking and no weekends. The school morale was not good. I didn't go for the location. It was really out by itself with no place to go. You could forget it if it snowed! There was nothing to do. You could only go to a Saturday night movie or to the study hall or to the library or your dorm...To fit in there you should not smoke, you should be able to follow rules and you should be willing to put up with a lot. I went to two dances, they were terrible: the music was terrible and I didn't like to be paired off. There wasn't much social life and what there was wasn't good.
>
> "Generally the people were friendly and I was doing well. But I didn't like the scheduling, the rushing about. It was too tight with no freedom to just sit down. Sometimes discipline was too strict and unfair. It seemed that they were against you having a good time. Some of the masters were too strict and rigid. The morale in the school was really terrible.
>
> "I was unhappy with the school but probably would have continued at another school with better

> facilities and morale. We were so regimented, it was like being in the army or at a military school. We couldn't even speak up about things we didn't like. It was being in the Hitler Youth Movement - 'speak up and you're off to the Russian front!' I was lonely and missed my freedom. I liked to study when I wanted and I missed the fun of weekends at home. You couldn't do anything there. All there was for amusement were lousy old Charlie Chan movies on Saturday nights. I decided to leave myself at the beginning of my second year. I had thought about leaving in the summer. Over the summer I had got used to my freedom again and to doing as I wanted - especially smoking.
>
> "All my teachers and headmaster talked to me. They did a lot of talking. Really all the faculty and students tried hard to keep me. It almost worked. I felt they did care a lot and that I was disappointing them, but I felt I had to leave. I still feel I can go to college and do well, it may be harder but I think it was the best decision for me. When I came home it really didn't bother me, but a lot of my friends thought I was kicked out and I got tired of explaining that I hadn't been." (Case 026)

The other boy who withdrew from his school despite his satisfactory academic standing and apparent adjustment was similar in many respects. In his case we have only the school faculty reports, so obviously some important pieces of the story are missing. His faculty advisor and his headmaster said that the school was satisfied with his work and that he had a fair record. He had been placed a year below his age level and may have resented this. His course work was all passing with no failures or near failures, but also no outstanding subjects. He had seemed to be improving slightly and his teachers were generally satisfied. His abilities and motivation were average. He had outstanding ability in sports, but didn't push himself hard competitively. He was regarded as a steadying influence in the dormitory and a developing leader who was respected by the other boys. He was popular and had a number of close friends at school. As in the preceding case, all the faculty felt the adjustment had been easy and were not aware of any difficulties until the boy wanted to withdraw.

If we try to guess the reason for his decision to withdraw perhaps the evidence points most toward injured pride. Looking back at his records we find that his English teacher at the ABC summer program had noted:

> "Although he is weak in eighth grade skills, his social and physical maturity may create problems for him if he is in a total eighth grade situation with less mature youngsters. I would like to recommend that he either be assigned to the ninth grade (it would be difficult for him) or be given ninth grade

> classification with courses commensurate with his abilities." (Case 015)

His resident tutor had also made similar comments:

> "This boy has made a start on a difficult social adjustment; he is used to being top man and has had to be satisfied with less esteem this summer. He was not coping with it well for awhile but has begun to come into his own recently...I think that it would be a serious mistake if the adjustment he started this summer were lost because he was put in a situation where he could sit back on his haunches. This is what I think he would do if put into the eighth grade. He has enough in him to meet the academic challenge of the ninth grade and socially would find his place quickly. He has the potential to be near the top but must be stretched." (Case 015)

However his school felt that they could not appropriately place him in the ninth grade. Evidently placement with somewhat younger boys who were considerably behind him in physical development and social maturity bothered him greatly. According to his faculty advisor at independent school:

> "He had finished the eighth grade at home, but we had him re-enter the eighth grade here. He was satisfactory academically but not good enough to move up a form yet. He was physically big and mature and felt restive with the 'little boys'. We tried to assure him that his disparity would be overcome and we felt that he had accepted this. There were no problems otherwise, except that he was a little lazy physically and did not practice well in athletics - he could have been a good player for he was a natural athlete. A bit of laziness and lack of discipline were the only other minor problems. He certainly was very well accepted among the other boys.
>
> "He came back at the beginning of the second year but said he and his mother had done a lot of talking and thinking and he had hesitated a long time before he came back. He said he thought perhaps he should have stayed home. For awhile he seemed to have settled in well here, but during the first few weeks we became aware that he was discontent.
>
> "After a few weeks he came to me and said, 'I've talked to my Mother on the phone and she is coming up this weekend to take me home'. We all tried to encourage him to stay and his friends, both Negro and White, wanted to keep him here. I talked to his mother on the phone and told her I wanted to talk with her when she came. I hoped we

> could keep him and felt we could bring them around. His mother came and talked with me. She was a nice woman and obviously loves her children but just could not see far enough. I found it almost impossible to talk rationally and logically with her. She said he was forced to play sports when he had flat feet, but we told her that was a minor consideration. She said that he doesn't have a father, that he is the man of the house and that she wanted him around. Then she complained that he had to repeat a year and was losing face among his friends and couldn't hold his head up. Also she felt he didn't have close friends here because of lack of money and that he was older than the other boys. We tried to argue with her but these were not reasoned decisions. The mother seemed to be unwilling to be firm enough to support the school in what it was trying to do. It also seemed that because the discipline was more strict here he missed the more relaxed atmosphere at home. We finally decided there was nothing more we could do. We had real regrets to see him go and told him he was welcome to return at any time." (Case 015)

Unfortunately we lack the information from the boy himself regarding his reasons for withdrawing and his subsequent history.

In these two cases of boys who withdrew from school despite satisfactory academic records and apparently good initial adjustment, it seems that not withstanding the superficially easy adjustment they had continued to feel outsiders and were discontent with the restrictions and demands of boarding school. Their rediscovery during summer vacation of greater freedom at home evidently made them unwilling to again subject themselves to the pressures and confinement of boarding school life.

In summary, 8 boys had left the independent schools at the time of the two-year follow-up primarily for the following reasons: 6 because of very low academic ability or motivation, and 2 because of adjustment problems. (During the third year at school, an additional 5 boys left: 2 for academic reasons and 3 for adjustment and emotional reasons - all were noted among the boys with serious problems in earlier chapters.)

SUBSEQUENT HISTORIES OF BOYS WHO LEFT THE PROGRAM

Of the 16 boys who had dropped out of the ABC program, either during the first summer or after having attended independent school, 14 were successfully re-interviewed in the two-year follow-up. Of these, 13 had already returned to their home communities; while the other boy was to return home at the end of the school year. Thus for 13 of the 16 boys we have their subsequent histories during the year or two years since they left the program. (The questions asked concerning their subsequent experiences are found in Appendix D, Schedules 4 & 5, with additional information from community informants obtained using Schedule 6.)

BOYS WHO ATTENDED ONLY THE SUMMER PROGRAM. All of the students who attended only the summer program re-enrolled in their local high schools that fall. At the time of the two-year follow-up study, all were continuing as regularly enrolled students in their local schools except for one who had graduated that spring. All were reported to average passing or better grades, but half had failed some courses since their return. However, all also reported having honor grades in some subjects. Half of the students reported that their school work had been generally going well. The other half reported that they were somewhat dissatisfied with their work, that they were doing poorly relative to their abilities, and that the same problems that hampered their performance at Project ABC had continued - namely lack of hard work and "laziness". Almost all reported that they had received some continuing educational benefit from their training in Project ABC and that there had been some improvement in their school work as a result.

Half reported it had been difficult to return home because they felt they had disappointed their families and the teachers that recommended them. The other half reported that they had no particular feelings of this sort, and that no one had made them feel uncomfortable. Boys who had such problems reported that their parents were upset and made them feel an important opportunity had been lost.

Most boys reported that they now had few lingering regrets. Some felt perhaps they had missed an opportunity and wished they had worked harder, but most felt that it was a good experience despite the fact they had not continued. Most cited some improvement in their academic work habits and motivation and felt that they had broadened their experience and become aware of more as a result of their exposure to the program. All said they felt the benefits had been greater than the negative consequences. Only a few boys indicated lingering feelings of disappointment and regret:

> "I feel that I made a mistake because you don't get an opportunity like that all the time. It was a mistake for me to go, and I didn't get much out of it because I didn't work. But I did learn about people.
>
> "I felt I had a better attitude towards school when I came home. Some of my teachers felt it was a big mistake and my pastor did too. My family was very upset. They have settled down about it now since I have done all right in school...
>
> "When I came back people looked up to me. They felt it was a great thing because it was the first time something like this happened in my neighborhood. But it didn't make too much difference because I didn't do much while I was there but it was a great opportunity. I feel now if I had the chance again I would make the best of it. I have some regrets but I haven't been too upset." (Case 020)

Another reported:

> "I felt let down and bad because my parents

> wanted me to make it through. But it was a relief in some ways because I really wanted to stay home. I was disappointed in some ways and glad in others. I really didn't know what I wanted to do. Even now I get a guilty feeling of letting down my parents and letting a good opportunity go. But I got something worthwhile out of it so I'm not sorry that I went. It changed my ways of thinking quite a bit, now I know more about what is going on and I'm more realistic. It was a real good thing. Now I wish I had done more and sometimes I do hate myself that I didn't make something of it. I do feel badly and that has stayed with me." (Case 066)

The future plans of the boys were varied. The two American Indian boys hoped to attend their state university and study to be veterinarians. According to teachers in their local schools, for one boy this was a strong possibility because of his satisfactory grades and scholarship aid for Indians; but for the other boy because of his poor academic record it was unlikely. The other boys, all from urban areas, had varied future plans. Two were quite vague and indefinite. One thought he might become a professional athlete and hoped to get an athletic scholarship to college which was not outside the realm of possibility. Another thought he would perhaps go to college if he could get an athletic scholarship but otherwise would not. However, according to a local informant who knew him well it was probable that he would not attend college and that he was more likely to enter an industrial training program in a large local plant as his brother had done. The remaining boys were much more definite regarding their desires to attend local colleges and hoped to pursue careers in science or law. As their academic records at home were passing but not strong, it is difficult to assess how good their chances were.

Reviewing the available information on the boys who had left the program after only attending the summer ABC program, it appears that the effects, positive or negative, had been minimal. Most of the boys seemed little different than they had two years previously. None appeared to have been seriously hurt by having dropped out of the program. Neither did they seem to have benefited particularly. The writer felt despite the fact that some of the boys said they now wanted to make greater use of opportunities open to them, their subsequent histories had shown little evidence of great changes. For these boys it appeared that they were neither greatly helped nor greatly harmed by their experience in Project ABC.

BOYS WHO LEFT INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS. In the two-year follow-up we succeeded in re-interviewing 7 of the 8 boys who left preparatory school. As one was just about to be dropped from his school and had not yet returned home, our data is based on 6 of the 8 boys who had left.

It will be recalled the reasons 6 of the 8 boys had left were predominantly academic difficulties due to low ability, low motivation, or both combined. We will first report the subsequent histories of these boys who left for academic reasons.

Only one boy did not return to and continue in his local high school. Earlier in the chapter he was noted as the boy who briefly returned to his local high school and then dropped out. At the time of the follow-up study he was unemployed with only occasional jobs in a dance band. He had no realistic future goals. His apathy and lack of ambition made his future appear bleak, yet he did not seem at all aware or concerned.

The rest of the boys who had left the program for academic reasons had returned to their local high schools, were continuing there or had graduated. All 4 boys were doing average or passing work in their local high schools. Though passing, all said they were not working very hard or effectively and were falling short of their potential. Thus it appeared that all would (or had) graduated high school but with undistinguished records. Their return home had disappointed people both at preparatory school and their home community, most particularly their parents. All felt they had made a mistake and should have worked harder, yet were relieved to be free from the academic pressures and demands of the independent schools. Uniformly their attitudes toward Project ABC and their independent schools were predominantly positive and they were glad they had attended. They all felt that the program was too demanding and not suited for them because of the high expectations. As with the boys who left even earlier in the program, their subsequent histories indicated that the programs effects, positive or negative, had been minimal. Though passing in their local schools they were not working as hard as they felt they should. In effect, all said they had grown up some, had been exposed to more, but essentially they were not very different. Here again, talking to these drop-out boys, the writer was of the opinion that the program had had very little effect upon their lives and had not particularly helped or harmed them.

With respect to their future plans, again there were differences according to the section of the country where the boy lived and his background. The two American Indian boys wished to continue living on their reservations in the Plains. They hoped to attend local community or junior colleges near their homes but were quite vague regarding these plans. One said:

> "I haven't thought yet about what I would like to do later on. I'm not sure. I think my chances are pretty good to go on to college, at least I have a better chance than most of the kids here. At first I had thought I would try for a university but now I hope I can make it through junior college. Most Indians fail in the university but maybe I'll have a chance in junior college. I would like to go to the Junior Community College about 40 miles from here. Perhaps I'll be a coach or something and major in physical education, but I might change my mind...I found I didn't like the big cities or going to the eastern part of the United States. It seems I just don't want to leave the Plains and go to big cities. Going away didn't make much difference, I just came back to the same old way of life. But I do have more confidence in school. Now I feel I could pass any

kind of subject if I tried." (Case 062)

Local high school teachers felt it unlikely that either boy would go to college or if they did attend that they would continue to complete a degree. It seemed probable they would remain on the reservation.

The other two boys who had to leave preparatory school because of poor academic performance had somewhat more definite aspirations. Both hoped to go into medicine or science. However, the colleges and universities they said they were considering applying to were highly unrealistic choices because of their mediocre academic records. However, both thought it more probable that they would be drafted before they attended college. All things considered, it seemed likely that they would receive their high school degree but not continue with further education.

We were able to obtain information from only one of the 2 boys who despite satisfactory records in independent school had withdrawn on their own decision because of dissatisfaction with the restrictions of boarding school life. This was the student who had disliked the confined atmosphere of his school and had withdrawn at the beginning of the second year despite his fine record and apparently good adjustment to this fellow students. We have already seen that he felt that he could receive as good an education in his home city and felt that his chances of attending college would not be seriously hurt. He had returned to high school as a Junior and expected to graduate the next spring. He reported that he had a very good record there with an 89 average and honor grades in all subjects. He said he was glad that he had gone to private school and felt that he had learned a lot of good study habits. He just wished he had been able to like it better, but he found it was a distinct relief to return home. He was in honor classes at his local high school. During the summer and part-time after school he was working in local community action projects and had been given considerable responsibility in those jobs. His future plans were to go into computer programming or accounting. His mathematical abilities were strong and the colleges he was considering applying to were appropriate to his abilities. He was determined to go to college and there seemed little question that he would be able to. In all respects he seemed a mature, capable and resourceful boy who should do well in the future. His reasons for leaving independent school were strong and valid ones for him and he seemed to have no reason to regret his decision.

CONCLUSIONS CONCERNING ATTRITION

During their first two years in the program 20% of the Dartmouth ABC '65 group dropped out (with 26% attrition by the end of three years). Of these, roughly 60% left or were dropped because of academic difficulties predominantly and 40% left mainly because of adjustment problems of various kinds. Often, of course, academic and adjustment problems were found together.

Academic difficulty in some cases was due to general low ability, but most often the major reason was lack of motivation and discipline. Many boys who were expelled had sufficient ability, but had not met the demands for consistent hard work and study. All but one of these students had returned to their local high schools. It appeared that all of them would graduate high school. They had made generally passing but undistinguished records upon their return. Future educational and vocational plans varied: many were uncertain and vague, others were more definite and realistic. These boys all had received considerable attention and help while in the project but to no avail. Their subsequent histories showed no indication of substantial improvement.

Retrospectively it is easy to say that such boys should not have been selected considering their evident low academic motivation. But with so many applicants and with just a brief 8 weeks summer program to screen those selected, it is difficult to judge which boys have the ability and the motivation to be successful. Previous chapters have indicated that though miracles seldom occurred, many students had made substantial gains according to their teachers during their two years in the program. As long as Project ABC selects marginal or "risk" candidates as well as the clearly outstanding students, there necessarily will continue to be a substantial proportion of failures and drop-outs. Undoubtedly the proportion of failures would be reduced if there were a smaller enrollment of "risk" candidates who might or might not have the abilities and motivation to persevere and succeed. However, this would greatly alter the character of the program. Basically it comes down to the decision of how scholarship money should be allocated in a program of this kind. If it were decided that only clearly outstanding and highly motivated boys were to be selected the attrition rate could probably be reduced. But as long as it is felt worthwhile to also include boys who have been handicapped educationally and who may not have been working up to the full potential of their probable abilities due to inadequate educational challenge and opportunity it seems likely that the attrition rate cannot be greatly reduced.

However, it also must be recognized that when one examines previous school records and the generally enthusiastic letters of recommendation accompanying applications to the program, one realizes the great difficulty in selection. A major effort of the ABC recruitment staff has been to fully inform people in the home communities of the character of the program and the great demands placed upon the students. Largely this effort appears to have been successful due to the hard work of the ABC talent search staff and its local representatives. Yet many boys, including both those who had done well and those who had done poorly, said that they had not been fully aware of the character of the program or the kinds of schools they were to attend.

It is clear that for many boys this was not the "right" program. They did not have the necessary skills or desire to cope with the great academic demands that would be placed upon them. In these cases it was unfortunate that the boys were recommended to the program. Largely the resource people and local representatives of the ABC program have done a fine job in recommending boys. But sometimes it appeared that their enthusiasm had swayed judgment and occasionally boys were described as more able or motivated than they actually were. Some boys had been inappropriately encouraged and in some cases persuaded to apply when they had little genuine desire. This was clearest in the case of American Indian students: 4 were continuing the program and doing average or good work in their schools, while the other 4 had dropped out. In the case of the latter, it was clear they had no real desire to leave their reservations and that they were genuinely relieved when they were able to return home. The other 4, though they too had a difficult adjustment, were truly committed to the program and saw it as having relevance to their future goals and aspirations. The attrition rate was highest in the Indian group for many different reasons, but the point was most evident here: in all cases it should be clear that the program has meaning and relevance to the boy's life and meets his real needs and aspirations.

In an earlier chapter we discussed the problems of social adjustment to the program and the independent schools. We found that although generally the ABC students' adjustment to the schools appeared good, many had experienced varying degrees of difficulty. A number of students whose academic work was poor also had a hard adjustment with respect to fitting into the general character of school life or getting along with peers. Some of the boys who dropped out mainly for academic reasons were also outsiders or unpopular in their school - but it appeared that these were additional complicating problems and not the main cause of their leaving.

The difficulties of students who left primarily because of problems in adjusting to the program or the schools were varied: 3 were homesick and unwilling or unable to make the transition, 1 was a disciplinary problem and was sent home, and 2 who were in good academic standing left because they disliked the confinement and restrictions of boarding school.

Careful investigation indicates that boys who dropped out of the program did not appear to be particularly "hurt". All but one had returned to high school at home and expected to graduate. Some were genuinely relieved and happy to be home, others felt varying degrees of disappointment in themselves for having let other people down. Most reported they did not have strong lingering feelings of discouragement and disappointment though they did have occasional regrets. All said they were glad they had attended the ABC program or their preparatory schools and felt they had benefited. However, it was the writer's impression that the ABC program appeared to have had minimal effects, positive or negative, on the boys that had left the program.

At the time of the two-year follow-up reported here the attrition rate was 20%; at the end of the third school year it had risen to 26%. The additional 5 boys who left during the third year were included among those with serious academic or adjustment problems discussed in earlier chapters. Generally they appear to have left for reasons similar to those we have just reviewed. However, it seems that 2 of them who had been in severe conflict regarding social values at their schools and rejected the conformity pressures they felt were placed upon them, probably were more troubled than most of the other boys who left the program.

This careful look at the reasons boys left the program and what happened to them subsequently has found that the ill effects that might be feared fortunately had not occurred. It seems clear that few, if any boys, have been seriously harmed. In weighing the positive and negative consequences of Project ABC, the balance is clearly positive.

CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

This report has attempted to give a full and candid evaluation of the operation and results of Project ABC. Obviously a 2-year follow-up study is only a short time in which to judge the consequences of a program designed to have such considerable impact upon the students' lives. The long-term results can only become manifest in their subsequent histories. However, within the 2-year period we have been able to observe the immediate impact and investigate some initial consequences of their experiences. Sufficient information has been obtained so that we may have some confidence in judging the short-term effects of the program.

This chapter will briefly review major conclusions regarding the character of the ABC program and its students and the nature of the academic and personal consequences observed. It will also suggest general implications regarding the effects of racial integration and the results of compensatory educational programs for disadvantaged students. Clearly the conclusions and impressions are based on findings from a relatively small sample of students in an unusual program at a particular point in time; but to the degree that they are valid they may have relevance to consideration of the results and consequences of other programs of compensatory education for disadvantaged students.

In undertaking such an evaluative study of a particular educational program for disadvantaged students and attempting to develop its general implications, one wishes that there was a larger body of substantial research on other similar programs for comparison of findings. But as indicated in Chapter 1, relatively little research has been reported in this area despite its recent growth and importance. Therefore, despite the uncertainty and disappointment of being unable to relate this research to a body of similar studies, there is the satisfaction of making an initial contribution to what seems to be a very necessary and important area for research. How the results and findings of this study may relate to similar studies of other programs is impossible to predict, but as further research becomes available on the subject presumably a clearer picture will emerge regarding the consequences of educational intervention in the lives of disadvantaged students. For now we will review the outstanding features and consequences of this particular program and consider some of the possible implications.

CHARACTER OF THE ABC PROGRAM

As has been evident throughout this report, Project ABC is unusual in the degree to which it affects the total life situation of the disadvantaged high school students who enter it. Most compensatory education programs at the secondary school level have been special summer programs, either in the students' home schools or on college campuses, that provide special enrichment classes for a limited period.

Some of them do have the students return in subsequent summers, and may also provide continuing contacts and follow-ups with the students in their home schools during the rest of the year. However Project ABC is unusual because after the initial summer program, all students who have shown the necessary ability and motivation are provided with full scholarships to enter new secondary schools that fall where they are expected to continue until graduation. Most ABC students (and all studied in this report) had been provisionally accepted to private secondary schools. The independent preparatory schools these students enter are very different in academic level and social character from their high schools at home. Thus it seems that few, if any, other programs of compensatory education for disadvantaged high school students involve such a marked transition in the lives of their students.

It should also be noted that Project ABC is necessarily limited in size both by obvious restrictions in the number of placements presently available in the participating schools and by the expense of the scholarship program. Over the 5-year period, 1964-68, there have been 1219 students who have entered Project ABC. The independent preparatory schools during this period have devoted a substantial proportion of their scholarship funds to the program, and in addition have sought outside support through private contributions, foundation grants, and government funding. There has been considerable growth, though with marked fluctuation, in the amount of such resources and a gradual increase in the number of available scholarships. However there obviously is a limit on the number of students that can be enrolled in the program as long as it is predominantly restricted to the private school sector of secondary education. The development of public high school programs associated with Project ABC has attempted to permit the acceptance and placement of more disadvantaged students in quality secondary schools; but its growth has been slow thus far both because of the hesitancy of public school systems to undertake such considerable and unusual responsibilities and because of the desire of Project ABC to insure that such programs develop under optimum conditions.

Besides the present restrictions in number, an important consideration has been the high per student cost of Project ABC. The initial summer program costs approximately $1,400 per student and the annual cost per student in the secondary schools averages about $3,250. Most students are enrolled in the secondary schools for a 2 to 4 year period. Thus the total program costs per student run between $7,000-$15,000. Clearly Project ABC is an expensive program. In the allocation of educational resources it must compete with other alternative programs. There is little problem as long as it primarily involves the use of scholarship funds at private secondary schools, those monies are already allocated or may be raised at the discretion of the private schools. However in competition for funds from private foundations and government agencies, the program obviously must come under stringent scrutiny and be considered in perspective of other needs. While there seems little question that Project ABC will maintain itself given the continuing commitment of the private schools and the involvement of public schools in certain communities where it has strong support; it also appears to be limited in the degree to which it can become a widespread pattern for compensatory educational programs. As the public generally has been reluctant even to provide sufficient funds to adequately educate disadvantaged students in their home communities, there seems little reason to expect that high cost programs are likely to find much widespread backing - other than in unusually concerned communities that are willing to underwrite and support them. And it can be argued that the main efforts and expenditures should be devoted to improving local public education in all communities so that special programs at the high school level would become unnecessary. Obviously that desirable situation appears quite remote at present, and until such time there is a definite need for a variety of means and settings for providing better educational opportunities for motivated students from poor school systems. In any case, Project ABC is an ongoing attempt by a group of schools and colleges to respond meaningfully to the pressing educational needs of a particularly important group of disadvantaged minority group students.

Although Project ABC is a limited and special case of compensatory education program, it certainly should be regarded as one of the most "total" in its effects upon the life situation of its students. The full-scale relocation of disadvantaged students from their home communities to new schools of a very different academic and social character for the remainder of their secondary school education makes this program unusual. Therefore it should have significance in indicating the consequences of full-scale intervention in the lives of disadvantaged secondary school students. Viewed in this light Project ABC is unusual and its results are of great interest. Though limited in size, it has definite significance for determining the effects of marked environmental change. It is both in this very limited and yet paradoxically very broad aspect that this evaluation study must be viewed.

Project ABC began in 1964 through joint planning by Dartmouth College and a group of 21 independent preparatory schools. During the first 5 years it has included 4 additional colleges and expanded to 106 private secondary schools and 8 public secondary schools. Over 1200 disadvantaged high school boys and girls have begun the program, and most have gone on to attend the secondary schools to which they had been provisionally accepted. Our evaluation research focused on the group of 82 disadvantaged high school boys who entered the Dartmouth ABC transitional program in the summer of 1965, all of whom were intended to go on to private school in the fall. This research study was designed to discover the characteristics of the boys at time of entrance and their subsequent record and experiences in the program and in the private schools.

DESIGN OF EVALUATION RESEARCH

Those responsible for the development of Project ABC recognized the need for full and honest evaluation of the results of the program. It was felt that such dramatic alteration of the students' lives carried with it an obligation for careful assessment of the consequences. The important questions to be asked concerned the academic and personal effects of the transition, - in what ways were the students benefited or harmed by the experience? To answer these questions it was decided to study an entire group of ABC students and follow them through their first two years in the independent schools. (Originally two entering classes with a total of 160 boys were studied, but restriction of available research funds made it possible only to gather and analyze complete data on just one entering class of 82 boys.) It was felt necessary to include a variety of types of data, including: initial and follow-up interviews with the students, reports and interviews with faculty at their schools, and original and follow-up academic and psychological testing. A matched control group of similar high school boys who remained at their home schools was used for purposes of comparison. (The problems in obtaining adequate control group data were discussed in Chapter 2, but eventually a fairly satisfactory comparison group of controls and matched ABC students was obtained for research purposes.) The data collection and analysis on the ABC boys was very full and has allowed us to present a detailed picture of some of the significant aspects of the program and its effects. In the research design and data presentation it was felt important to include both the personal testimony of those intimately involved in and affected by the program and the more "objective" data from standardized psychological testing. It should be noted that in a number of places throughout the report some of the complex and problematic aspects of evaluation research of socially significant ongoing action programs have been indicated. This kind of research has many difficulties and uncertainties, and a concerned researcher becomes accutely aware of the biases and limitations of himself and his techniques and of the dissatisfaction that comes from necessarily being able to study only a few aspects of a very complex set of human encounters. We will briefly review some of the findings relating to the major questions that prompted the research.

CHARACTERISTICS OF ABC STUDENTS

The selection and characteristics of ABC students was presented in Chapter 3. It was pointed out that the kind of students recruited and selected by an educational program is of great significance in judging its results. It was also pointed out that stereotypes about general characteristics of "disadvantaged students" were misleading with regard to the special group of boys included in this program. Certainly the ABC boys were poor and economically disadvantaged. However, though some had academic problems, it would be clearly inappropriate to consider most of them markedly "culturally deprived" or with severe academic handicaps. Though poor and coming from generally inadequate school systems, many of these students had already distinguished themselves as highly motivated and achieving students. Generally they had been outstanding in their home high schools. Their mean I.Q. was 115, and English achievement scores averaged around the 70th percentile of national high school norms and roughly the 40th percentile on independent school norms. Though the ABC boys were characterized as "academic risks" because of difficulties it was anticipated that they might have in moving to more demanding secondary schools, clearly most were not unmotivated or badly handicapped academically. Certainly there were some students whose abilities and motivation were low, and as has been seen generally these were the boys who had the greatest difficulty in the program. So the program does not select and is not designed for students with serious academic handicaps.

Information on parental education indicated that 60% of the fathers and 50% of the mothers had not graduated high school. The median and mean level of parents' education was 11th grade, with about 15% of the parents who had some college education. However many boys came from homes where the level of parental education was quite low. About 40% of the students came from broken homes and 60% from intact homes.

The racial and ethnic background of the Dartmouth ABC '65 boys studied was 70% Negro, 10% White, 10% American Indian, 9% Puerto Rican, and 2% Oriental. About 65% of the students came from metropolitan areas in the northeast. The remainder came from smaller cities and from rural areas and reservations in the rest of the country. Average family income was $4,320 with 29% on welfare or with reported incomes under $3,000. Most families were quite poor, and only a few backgrounds appeared somewhat "middle-class" economically. In many cases there were histories of considerable family hardship. However the ABC students and their families generally appeared to have strong aspirations for bettering their circumstances through education.

Thus the majority of ABC students were talented and aspiring disadvantaged minority group boys, predominantly Negro. While most students came from urban racial ghettos or impoverished rural areas, it seemed that they could not be regarded as "typical products" of disadvantaged areas - at least as customarily presented in the literature. Undoubtedly the social homogeneity of disadvantaged groups has been overemphasized and individual diversity slighted. This is not to deny that widespread and serious social and educational problems exist for the disadvantaged that require large scale remedial action, but simply to state that disadvantaged youth are far from being all alike. The disadvantaged boys who were recommended and came to Project ABC had been selected for their high motivation and promise. In schools where the general level of student motivation and achievement was low, they stood out as talented and promising. Therefore, Project ABC again is a very special case and we should be very circumspect regarding how far we may generalize findings from this program to other programs that are dealing more directly with the "hard core" educational problems of disadvantaged students.

Also it is the writer's impression that ABC students are somewhat atypical of their communities and probably marginal in their peer group memberships there. It appears that these boys are not "typical lower-class boys" strongly identified with surrounding peer groups and their sub-cultural values, but rather are striving and upwardly mobile boys who may already be somewhat marginal in their communities. Interviews with the ABC students revealed that most identified with and related well to adult authorities and teachers in their former schools, and often tended to divorce themselves and feel apart from the "bad" behavior and apathy of their former classmates. Also, personality inventory scores had indicated the group as a whole was high on measures of socialization and responsibility. The ABC students were recommended to the program by high school principals, teachers, guidance counselors, and other civic-minded and presumably middle-class people. Also the follow-up interviews after the students had entered the private schools indicated that on visits home most ABC students tended to associate with old friends who were also college bound. Therefore, there are many reasons for believing that ABC students generally are a very special and select group. They are poor and disadvantaged, but they are also promising, talented and highly motivated toward educational and social advancement. Certainly not all fit this picture, but most did. It would be interesting and important to know if other college programs for disadvantaged high school students are as restricted in the type of student they enroll, - according to Selltiz's (1968) survey they may be. Such programs would then be meeting some important needs, but not others.

ABC SUMMER TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM

The summer transitional program the students attended before entering preparatory school was discussed in Chapter 4. Again the ABC program appears somewhat different from other programs of compensatory education for disadvantaged high school students that put more of their emphasis on intellectual stimulation and cultural enrichment. The prime goal of the ABC summer program at Dartmouth was the strengthening of basic academic skills in English, reading, and mathematics. The immediate job at hand was to enable the students to survive the academic transition to the more demanding independent schools; and it was felt that it was of greatest importance to strengthen students' abilities in the basic aspects of secondary school curriculum. The summer program was hard and rigorous by deliberate design in order to prepare the students to meet the demands that they would encounter in their new schools. As was described, the academic program was concentrated and demanding with many intensive hours spent in small classes of 10 students each, and with many additional hours of homework preparation with careful monitoring of the work. Most of the students said that the work was hard and demanding, as in fact it was. Though many complained at the heavy schedule and lack of free time; eventually most came to appreciate the rigor and indicated generally high morale and a common group spirit. Many students reported that they responded favorably to the amount of personal attention they received and found that the staff had been unusually helpful.

Of the 82 boys who began the Dartmouth ABC '65 transitional program, at the end of the summer: 2 had already dropped out, 5 were not recommended to preparatory school, 1 was recommended and chose not to go, and the remaining 74 were recommended and entered preparatory school in the fall.

There seems little to criticize in the organization and operation of the summer transitional program. The curriculum and activities were well adapted to the immediate task at hand. Both at the end of that summer and in the 2-year follow-up study the overwhelming majority of ABC boys reported their general satisfaction with the preparation they had received. While many felt that it had been a hard transition and had chaffed at particular aspects of the program, particularly the heavy scheduling and lack of free time; most felt that it was well run and appropriate to their needs. In the light of their subsequent experience many of the ABC students felt that there should be fuller and franker presentation and discussion of social life at boarding school. And it might be noted that in later years the summer programs have regularly included "veterans" from previous years able to discuss some of the social adjustment problems that minority group students may encounter in entering the very different social world of the independent boarding school.

ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE IN PRIVATE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGE ADMISSIONS

At the time of the 2-year follow-up which formed the major basis for this report, the attrition rate of the Dartmouth ABC '65 boys for all causes was 20%; and at the beginning of the 4th year the rate had risen to 26%. Thus at the beginning of their 4th year in the program the current status of the entire group of 82 entering students in the Dartmouth ABC '65 summer program was: 26% dropped out of the program; 41% continuing in independent school; and 33% attending college.

At the time of the 2-year follow-up, the academic records of the ABC boys in the private schools ranged from outright failure to outstanding success: with 20% predominantly failing; 7% near failing; 54% average; and 19% good or outstanding. Careful review of the boys' records with independent school faculty and the boys themselves led to the following general classification of the academic trends in the group: 26% were classified POOR with consistently low level work; 11% were classified DECLINE where a definite fall in academic performance was indicated; 9% were classified SO-SO or MEDIOCRE with consistent low average performance and no great changes evident; 30% were classified GAINS with definite improvement in academic performance reported; and 24% were classified as GOOD where consistently high level academic performance had been maintained throughout the 2-year period. Thus according to these detailed faculty and student reports the academic performance of the ABC students had been mixed. According to the faculty reports about half the students (i.e. those in the GAINS and GOOD groups) had been showing definite academic improvement, but for almost half the students there had been either no great change or perhaps even a decline in performance. It appeared that most of the students functioned at about the same level they had initially. However in about a third of the cases there were some definite and marked gains reported by both staff and students. It thus appears that the considerable gains hoped for were reported for some students, but many others did not appear to have changed substantially in their level of performance according to the reports. At the maximum it could be said that only about 50% of the students were reported by faculty as having shown some clear improvement.

According to the students' account: 80% said the work at the preparatory schools was harder because of a higher standard and faster pace, but most also felt they were receiving considerably better teaching than they had previously. About 20% of the students felt they were doing more poorly than formerly, but 60% felt they were improving academically.

We desired more evidence than just the testimony of students and faculty regarding academic performance and gains. Therefore the research design included initial and follow-up testing with intelligence and English achievement tests. To our surprise and disappointment, basically the test findings indicated no significant academic changes during the two years. The ABC students showed no significant change in mean Otis I.Q. score, though the matched Control group did show a significant but small drop of 3 points. On the Coop English Achievement Test there were few and only very minor significant changes. Most mean scores for the group remained around the 70th percentile as they had on the initial testing. Thus on some widely used and well validated educational tests we found no dramatic changes over a two-year period for the ABC students as a group. Neither did differentiation of the various sub-groups according to their reported performance appear to show much significant change. These sobering findings must temper our optimism regarding how much may actually be achieved scholastically by the program.

When one considers how much of the emphasis of the summer transitional program and the teaching in the private schools is on basic English skills, it is surprising that the English Achievement Tests did not show more change. Perhaps the tests do not tap some significant areas of improvement; however, it will be recalled that these same tests were moderately correlated with the students' academic performance in preparatory school (Chapter 8), and certainly they were expressly designed for and have been frequently used in studies of secondary school English achievement. Though the ABC students relative percentile scores showed no significant change, of course their absolute scores did increase; so the students were making normal progress relative to where they initially stood. It might be interpreted that the students were already high achievers, perhaps even "overachievers", and that they perhaps had reached some sort of a "ceiling" on performance, but this "explanation" seems unsatisfactory. At any rate, this highly select group of generally talented and achieving disadvantaged high school boys showed no great increments in their I.Q. scores and English Achievement Test scores after 2 years in this intensive academic program.

It should be noted, however, that the writer's emphasis here on intelligence and achievement test scores as measures of scholastic gains does not mean that he considers them the only important data for educational evaluation. Critics of American education have long argued that there has been excessive emphasis on standardized testing of narrow aspects of the curriculum to the detriment of other educational aims. Also it has been argued that intelligence, ability and achievement tests and academic grades may show little relationship to other valuable contributions in school and later life (see Wallach & Wing, 1969). The writer agrees with many of these criticisms and also believes that many ABC students appeared to show significant educational gains in respects that the standardized tests available do not measure. However despite the admitted limitations of the intelligence and achievement tests, we cannot be indifferent to their findings as they do relate significantly to academic performance.

Examining both the faculty reports which indicated great diversity in student performance, with only a third as markedly improved and an additional quarter consistently good, and more particularly the test data which indicated no great gains overall; it seems that we must be extremely modest in the claims we make regarding the scholastic benefits of Project ABC. Here is a compensatory education program for high school students that puts heavy emphasis and concentrated work on improvement of basic academic skills, yet after a 2-year period does not show any very impressive overall results. Perhaps the writers (Deutsch, 1967; Stendler-Lavatelli, 1968) who have emphasized the significance of early intervention in the education of the disadvantaged, particularly at the preschool and elementary level, are correct in their emphasis, basic cognitive and academic abilities are probably established early and later intervention may have considerably less effect. At least this particular study gives no strong indication of broad academic gains occurring at the secondary school level in a concentrated program that emphasized the strengthening of such skills. It seems that enthusiastic supporters of compensatory educational programs can usually cite particularly impressive cases of individual gains; but the requirements of careful evaluative research necessitate strong evidence supporting both the generality and the magnitude of such gains throughout a program. We have cause to be disappointed in our findings here, and feel that our claims and expectations must necessarily become more modest. It would seem incumbent upon those responsible for programs of compensatory education, to be realistic in their expectations and to look to careful and objective documentation of the effects and results. When more than a quarter of the carefully selected students in a compensatory education program drop out, predominantly for academic reasons, and there is no concrete demonstration of general gains in basic abilities, we cannot afford to be overly sanguine. Perhaps this record may not compare too badly with attrition rates in secondary education programs generally, particularly considering the marked environmental change that these students experienced, but it would be more encouraging if it were lower. The attrition rate and mixed record of performance indicates that many of the ABC students did encounter academic difficulties, and suggests that perhaps some of the variability in performance may be due to the kind of stresses that racial minority group boys experience in encountering integrated classroom situations. (See the research review by Katz, 1968, cited in Chapter 1.)

Unfortunately the problems encountered with the Control group described in Chapter 2, made it impossible to say with any certainty how the ABC students fared in college admissions relative to their peers at home. By the beginning of the 4th year, 33% of the ABC group we studied had begun college with many of them entering high quality institutions. It would be expected that having already encountered and survived the transition to integrated education at good secondary schools, they might fare better in demanding colleges than students who had not already made such a transition. However this is speculation, and because we were unable to collect all the data originally planned on initial college performance, this can only remain surmise. Yet it is reasonable to assume with the resources, support and prestige of the private schools that ABC students probably fared better in college placement than similar disadvantaged students in public high schools without such advantages. During the past few years we have entered a period when outstanding colleges and universities actively have begun to recruit talented minority group students, particularly Negroes, and many highly selective colleges have reported problems in attracting sufficiently talented and well-prepared minority group students to meet their usual admissions standards (Doermann, 1968; Hoy, 1969). Thus the college placement of the ABC students who had good academic records in their independent secondary schools has not been a particular problem. However placement of some students whose records were not as strong was more problematic. Thus far, however, all ABC students in this study who remained in the program and graduated from their independent schools have entered college with scholarship support. The data presented for all ABC students entering the various programs during this first 5-year period indicated that almost all students who graduated from their secondary schools entered college with scholarship support.

SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT TO PRIVATE SCHOOLS

It was anticipated that taking disadvantaged high school students from urban slums or depressed rural areas and placing them in academically demanding and high status boarding schools might subject them to considerable emotional stress. Such a project in sponsored social mobility, though it might appear potentially beneficial to its proponents, could prove highly damaging to its participants. As we really did not know what the personal effects would be, we were very concerned to study the adjustment of the ABC boys to the private schools. Combining the reports of the school staff and the students themselves, it appeared that roughly 30% had encountered major adjustment problems (with 10% dropping out of the program mainly because of serious adjustment difficulties and 20% continuing in the program but having a difficult time). About 40% had minor adjustment difficulties that appeared to lessen with time; and in about 30% of the cases no adjustment problems were evident and the transition had apparently been quite smooth. Thus 70% of the students appeared to be getting along satisfactorily or better.

The faculty appeared somewhat more sanguine about the boys' adjustment and reported fewer problems than did the students themselves. The various problems cited by the faculty included difficulties in adjusting to boarding school confinement and restrictions, poor peer group relations, class differences, and racial problems.

About 80% of the ABC students reported that the summer transitional program had been a good preparation for boarding school life. About 60% of the boys said they felt they really belonged at their school; 30% felt somewhat apart; and 10% felt very much apart and alone. About one-quarter of the students had various major unpleasant incidents with other students, often involving hazing. Approximately 40% of the ABC students reported encountering major incidents of racial prejudice and discrimination; but about 30% reported that they had experienced none.

Numerous examples of the kinds of "cultural shock" students had experienced were presented in Chapter 6. Many reported the attitudes and values of middle-class and upper-class White students were different from those they were used to. Many Negro students were concerned regarding the problems of becoming over-assimilated or "whitewashed". However, though many were highly aware of class and racial differences and critical of attitudes they encountered, only a small number were markedly alienated from their peers and outspokenly critical of their schools and its values. Many students had encountered some racial discrimination and prejudice on the part of certain classmates, but generally the reports were of good acceptance by the majority of their classmates at the schools. Though most ABC boys did not date at school, a number of those who did reported discomfort in interracial dating and some had encountered marked hostility in such situations.

According to reports from a number of schools, as the number of Negro students in the student body has increased there has been greater overt concern with Black identity and marked tendencies for the Negro students to separate and segregate themselves. As long as the number of Black students was relatively small there was no alternative to integration and assimilation with the White majority, but as numbers increased there have been distinct tendencies for the formation of Black cliques and local Afro-American societies. These separatist tendencies are similar to those occurring on many college campuses with comparable conditions (Davenport, 1968; Lukas, 1968; Newsweek, Feb. 10, 1969). Though many school authorities expressed their initial dismay at such self-imposed segregation which went counter to the school's goal of integration and interracial contact, most have come to accept it as an inevitable and probably positive assertion of shared group identity. Many Black students expressed their problems and concerns in the area, but a number stated that they felt they had worked through some of their own problems in this regard and had found good acceptance at their school as themselves without great pressures to conform to particular roles. It is inevitable in such a program that identity concerns become salient for Negro students, and it was evident that for many this had been the major adjustment problem. It was the writer's impression that the more articulate and aware boys had squarely confronted the issues of racial identification and their attitudes toward dominant majority values, and most seemed to be handling it well. Some of the less mature and less aware boys were more reticent on the subject and perhaps avoiding it or denying its significance. Only a very small number of the ABC students seemed to be in acute conflict over racial identification and social class ambivalence. How well or poorly one judges the boys "adjustment" in their present situation depends greatly on one's opinion of what their proper stance should be.

Generally it appeared at that point in time the majority of boys had made satisfactory or at least smooth social adjustments to their schools. But there honestly appears no simple way that one can extrapolate into the future how experiences they have had and attitudes they have acquired at this period may affect their later lives for good or ill. It seems appropriate to regard the ABC students as socially marginal in various ways both in their home communities and in their new schools. Such social marginality has its costs and problems, but also its rewards. Certainly many ABC students seemed remarkably perceptive and aware, and far more insightful and articulate regarding social values than most adolescents of comparable age. The ability of most to encounter and master such considerable environmental changes appeared to have given them unusual maturity and resiliency, - but for some it had been very hard.

We have considered mainly what the private schools do for and to the ABC boys, there also is the very interesting question of what the boys do for and to the schools. This has not been presented here mainly because the research design focused on the program's effects on the ABC boys and did not include systematic exploration of the wider social consequences on the schools they entered. However in the long run these consequences of the program may be at least as important. At almost every private school visited, faculty members commented on the significant contributions made by the increasing presence and participation of Negro and disadvantaged minority group students in the life of the schools (see Davenport, 1968, for such an account). They reported that many ABC students brought a vitality, realism and different perspective to classroom discussions that had been lacking formerly. They said that the dominant White majority had learned, not always easily, about and from the imported Black minority and that the schools were broader and better as a result. How deep and significant these experiences are and what their long-term consequences may be are hard to judge. But it appears that, though not without some difficulty and stress, the schools are making a satisfactory adjustment to the boys.

PERSONAL AND SOCIAL CHANGES

According to faculty reports the changes occurring in ABC boys in about 75% of the cases were predominantly positive, in 15% mixed, and in 10% predominantly negative. Benefits reported included educational gains, wider experience, raised ambitions, and increased pride in self and accomplishments. According to the faculty reports, 50% of the students appeared more at ease and more confident. Also substantial numbers were reported to be academically improved, more aware, and more articulate. In about 25% of the cases the independent school faculty reported various negative changes such as: increased tension, anxiety, and depression; evident feelings of discouragement and defeat; and for very small numbers increased alienation and cynicism, or complacency and snobbery. According to the faculty reports, for the majority of boys there had been no great development of new interests, and less than 10% appeared to have expanded greatly in the scope of their interests.

The boys own reports reflected the same general trends and relative percentages. About 75% of the boys felt that the program's effects upon their life had been predominantly positive. In many cases there was genuine enthusiasm about the program and appreciation of the positive effect it had upon the boy's life. The follow-up interviews with the ABC students predominantly elicited positive reports of gains: including academic improvement, greater awareness, more direction, higher goals, greater self-confidence, increased tolerance, and greater ability to express one's self. About 50% of the students felt they had changed in major ways, and 25% reported slight changes.

However, some students also reported negative changes: 26% reported feeling more tense and anxious; 15% were discouraged by their limitations, felt defeated, and wanted to give up; 10% reported they had less drive and dedication; and a small number reported themselves more alienated and disillusioned, or more snobbish and complacent. There were a few boys at the time of the follow-up study who appeared extremely tense and disturbed, and a quarter of the entire group said that they felt somewhat more tense and anxious. These increases in tension and anxiety were due to stresses in adjusting to boarding school life and the different values and standards there, and to racial problems and uncertainty as to when and how prejudice and discrimination might be encounted. Also a component in the increased anxiety and tension was the greater academic pressure, drive, and competition experienced by many of the students. In short, the ABC boys were challenged both socially and academically and for a significant number it appeared to have increased their levels of tension and anxiety.

Only about 20% of the students said they felt more apart and distant from their family. About half the boys reported varying degrees of difficulty in transitions back and forth from home to school. When at home, 40% reported that they saw little of their former friends, but 60% said that they did reestablish contacts. However, it should be noted that most of their friends at home were other ABC or college bound students. About 40% of the boys appeared more critical of their old neighborhood; citing as things that particularly disturbed them community apathy, and crime and delinquency. It was the writer's impression that the boys were generally less detailed in their answers to questions regarding feelings about their home communities than they were on other subjects, and he had a strong impression that many preferred to avoid the topic.

Regarding future educational and vocational plans, almost all the students intended to go on to college. During the two years, there had been a decline in the number indicating they hoped to enter Ivy League schools, and an increase in their awareness and consideration of other colleges and universities. The greatest change in vocational interest was a marked decrease in the number desiring careers in science from 68% to 35%. Many boys reported that they had found science more difficult than they had thought when interviewed two years earlier. A large proportion of the students expressed concern regarding college admission and their future vocational and economic success. In various ways a number of students expressed worry as to their ability to "make it on their own" and appeared to have a strong fear that something might hold them back and prevent the success to which they aspired. This was interpreted as due to the uncertain status of such boys who must win substantial scholarship aid if they are to obtain higher education and who in many cases are the first members of their family to have an opportunity for substantial advancement. While a program like ABC offers disadvantaged students greater opportunities, it also places increased burdens and responsibilities.

Many of the trends and tendencies observed in the interviews found further confirmation in the changes measured on the personality inventories. On the Cattell HSPQ all scores on anxiety-related measures were substantially raised for the group as a whole. These included various scales measuring: emotionality; reactivity to threat; apprehensiveness and worry; and tenseness and drive. It should be noted that the matched Control group did not show these changes. However, on the same test the ABC students also showed increased extraversion and outgoingness, and increased casualness. On the Gough CPI the ABC students showed significant increases on capacity for status, social presence, and self-acceptance. They showed significant decreases on socialization and self-control. They showed a decrease on achievement via conformance and increases on achievement via independence, tolerance, and flexibility. The interpretation we would give to the total pattern of changes is that they strongly indicate heightened tension and drive, yet paradoxically more self-assurance and independence. In short, it would seem the ABC students have been subject to increased and continuing stress which has had its effects, but that at the same time they have developed capacity to cope with it and are more self-assured. It is tempting to interpret the personality inventory changes as indicating that the ABC students have perhaps moved from being well socialized and compliant "good boys" (and possibly even "Uncle Toms"), to more independent, resourceful, assertive, but somewhat tense and driven students. Perhaps some of the increased militancy and self-assertion occurring among Black students on various college campuses is reflected in the changes in these preparatory school students. The course of racial integration and the positive assertion of Black identity and self-respect is not easy. Probably the ABC boys are better for their experience in the program, but their struggle has its costs as well as its benefits. Clearly they have been affected.

CORRELATES OF ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE AND SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

Most data on family and social background characteristics of the ABC students appeared to bear little relationship to their academic success in the program. It was pointed out that relationships found in other investigations with more heterogeneous samples might not necessarily apply in our more restricted sample of highly talented disadvantaged boys. Thus the fact that we do not replicate some of the findings of significant association between academic performance and certain background characteristics reported in large scale surveys of student performance (e.g. Coleman, 1966) does not reflect either on those studies or upon this study; rather it indicates the restricted nature of the particular sample we investigated and the special conditions of this study. Generally the ABC students' academic performance seemed unrelated to most parental, sibling, and community characteristics, - with the few exceptions noted in Chapter 8. It was clear that a large proportion of the American Indian students did have serious academic problems.

More clearly associated with students'eventual academic success in preparatory school were responses indicating positive attitudes and reactions to the initial summer program.

Most highly associated with academic performance of all the data available on the students were the initial Otis intelligence and Cooperative English achievement test scores. These did show moderately high and statistically significant correlations with ratings of the students' overall academic performance in the program. Personality inventory scores indicated some significant correlations, but none of great magnitude. The boys who did better academic work had tended to be more conforming, serious, and tender-minded; while those doing poorer work tended to be more assertive, aggressive, happy-go-lucky, and tough-minded. To the degree that the personality inventories were able to indicate characteristics of the dutiful student who takes responsibility seriously as contrasted to the somewhat careless and unmotivated boy, they could help slightly in selection; but there was not sufficient solid evidence to establish their value as general screening devices. Overall it appeared that the traditional abilities and achievement tests widely used in secondary education were the best predictors of how students would fare academically of all the data we investigated.

Critics of the traditional abilities and achievement tests have argued that the results have often been employed in a discriminatory fashion against disadvantaged minority group students and have been used as an excuse for substandard curriculums and educational neglect. There seems little question that this is often true, and the misuse and misinterpretation of these tests cannot be condoned. However, it also seems true that these tests of developed (not innate!) scholastic ability are usually among the most useful predictors of future school performance. Our research findings differed here from those of Clark and Plotkin (1967) discussed in Chapter 1, who found only low correlations of similar abilities tests with academic records of Negro scholarship students at integrated colleges.

Social adjustment ratings on the students were found to be highly related to their academic performance. The boys who had been doing well academically had generally made good social adjustments, and boys who had been doing poorly tended to make poor social adjustments. Of course, cause and effect relationships are difficult to establish; but the findings do recall the data of Clark & Plotkin (1967) on Negro students at integrated colleges that found the more poorly adjusted students had greater academic difficulty.

As with academic performance, the social adjustment ratings showed little relationship to general family and social background characteristics. What appeared more significant were intitial attitudes toward Project ABC. Boys who had been initially apprehensive and concerned about how they would adjust tended to be those who in the long term made better adjustments in preparatory school. Boys who indicated they had disliked the routine and academic work during the summer program had a more difficult social adjustment in preparatory school. Much data indicated the significance of these initial attitudes and responses to the summer program, particularly responses to the demands of academic scheduling and routine, and reactions to dormitory life and the other students. Boys who had complained about various aspects of the summer program tended to make poorer adjustments to preparatory school.

Most of the psychological test data showed no significant relationship to social adjustment. However trait ratings on the students by the ABC summer staff did show many significant relationships with the 2-year follow-up information on social adjustment. The students who made better social adjustments had initially been rated higher on a variety of traits indicating high involvement and interest in work and sustained effort and persistence. While those who adjusted poorly in preparatory school had been rated lower in the direction of lack of involvement and interest, little effort, easily frustrated, and erratic performance. Those boys who went on to make good social adjustments had been initially rated as socially outgoing and popular, respected by their peers, self-confident and relaxed, flexible and adaptive, ambitious and responsible. While those who made poor social adjustments in preparatory school had been rated more socially detached, withdrawn, unpopular and not respected by peers, immature and apprehensive, insensitive, rigid, drifting, apathetic, or tense or driven. Thus the boys who made better social adjustment appeared to be the kind who did fit in well because of a variety of acceptable traits and characteristics; while those who did poorly showed a variety of personal difficulties and problems.

There appeared to be no startlingly new recommendations for the selection of ABC students stemming from these findings. The primary selection criteria for this program should continue to be demonstrated academic ability and previous performance indicating that the student has the desire and necessary strengths to make the transition. Occasionally the program literature describes ABC students as "risk candidates", to the degree that all the students face difficult social and academic transitions that designation is appropriate, but to the degree that most are bright and have been doing well in school it is a misnomer. As has been seen, the boys who turned out to be real risks because of low academic ability or motivation generally have fared poorly. Certainly there is little evidence to indicate that poor students were remade into good ones in this program.

ATTRITION

By the time of the 2-year follow-up 20% (i.e. 16 boys) of the entering 82 Dartmouth ABC '65 boys had left the program; and at the beginning of the fourth year 26% (i.e. 21 boys) had left. Almost all drop-out students were reinterviewed in the 2-year follow-up. Of the students who left the program, roughly 60% left or were dropped out predominantly because of academic difficulties and 40% left mainly because of adjustment problems. Of course many cases were mixed; but the major reasons appeared as indicated.

The academic difficulties in some cases were attributed to low general ability, but most often the main problem was lack of motivation and discipline. Most of the boys who were expelled appeared to have sufficient ability, but despite considerable effort and encouragement by the faculty had not met the demands for hard work and study. All but one had returned to their local high schools and it appeared that all who had returned to their home schools would graduate, most with poor or low average records. The future educational plans of these boys varied; many were uncertain and vague, but a few were more definite and realistic. It seemed clear that all these boys had received considerable attention and help while in the program but with disappointing results. Their subsequent record showed no indication of substantial improvement.

There seems to be no easy recommendation as to how to reduce attrition because of low academic motivation. As long as the independent schools require certain standards to be maintained and the ABC program continues to enroll some "risk" candidates inevitably there will be a certain percentage of students who fail to meet the demands of the schools. Beyond a certain point the program and the schools are not prepared or equipped to go. All that can be recommended is that the ABC resource people in the home community and the potential students be fully informed of the character of the program and the nature of its expectations. This communication has been a major effort of the ABC program in the students' home communities.

We had reason to question the initial appropriateness of Project ABC for a number of the American Indian students who left the program. Half the Indian boys in the group dropped out, and it was clear on reinterviewing that they had no real desire to leave their reservations and were relieved when they were able to return home. The attrition rate for American Indian boys was high for a variety of reasons, but one point certainly was clear: to produce any beneficial effect the ABC program and the opportunities provided must have genuine relevance to the boy's life and meet his real needs and aspirations. To send a simple boy who wants most of all to be a cattle rancher to a sophisticated eastern boarding school is not just foolish, it is cruel. American Indian boys do need help and more educational opportunity, but it should be appropriate for their needs. For many ABC is not the answer.

The boys who had left the program primarily because of social adjustment difficulties had a variety of problems: 3 boys were homesick and unwilling or unable to make the necessary transition; 1 was a disciplinary problem and sent home; and 2 left despite the fact that they were in good academic standing because they disliked the confinement and restrictions of boarding school life. Some students who dropped out during their third year in the program appeared in greater emotional conflict and were among those discussed in earlier chapters who had shown strong ambivalence and conflict at their schools. While most ABC students made good or relatively satisfactory adjustments to their schools there definitely were a small number of students who experienced emotional conflicts there and were poorly adjusted. In some of these cases there was no question as to the boy's potential talent and capacity, but the social transition had evidently put him under severe stress and conflict. However instances of marked maladjustment were very few in number (only two or three at most), and the majority of students who dropped out because of adjustment difficulties did not seem greatly troubled.

Most of the students who dropped out of the program did not appear to have been particularly "hurt" by that experience or by their participation in the program - though they might have other problems. Most reported they did not have strong lingering feelings of discouragement and disappointment, though they did have occasional mild regrets. All said they were glad they had attended the ABC program or their preparatory school and felt they had benefited some. It was the writer's distinct impression that the experience appeared to have had minimal effects, positive or negative, on most of the boys who had left the program. It should be noted however, that these judgments must necessarily be qualified as it is possible that drop-out students might not have revealed the full impact that leaving the program had for them. But at the time of the follow-up it appeared that most students who had left the program had not been too seriously troubled by the experience and the lasting effects, positive or negative, appeared minimal.

GENERAL IMPLICATIONS

Undoubtedly various readers will see additional implications and draw other conclusions from the many findings reported here. In evaluating such a large and complex program with varied effects upon a diverse group of students, there inevitably are many different perspectives and considerations possible. An attempt has been made to present the data and findings of the research with sufficient fullness so that the reader may be aware of the many complexities and adequately form his own judgments on the various questions at issue. Many things could yet be said about Project ABC and its wider significance, particularly concerning the effects of integration and interracial contact, and the results of compensatory education programs for disadvantaged students, - but only a few concluding comments will be made on these matters.

A major feature of Project ABC is the introduction and exposing of disadvantaged students from various minority group and ethnic backgrounds, predominantly Negro, to new school settings with predominantly upper status White atmosphere. Interracial contact and integration are among the most emotionally charged, problematic, and important subjects in contemporary American society. Many sectors of American society belatedly are attempting to rectify the inumerable wrongs of our history of racism and discrimination. But as we discover daily the history is too long and the injuries too deep to heal easily. The fundamental changes that need to occur are slow and by no means assured. Compared to what must be done the present undertaking seems very small, incomplete, artificial and even open to criticism as tainted with the paternalism and establishment values the militant rejects. However, even though small scale and possibly flawed to some, Project ABC aims to diminish the separation of races and makes some progress toward that end. What occurs in this program reflects some of the problems and consequences in attempts to move toward a more truly equal and open institutions. In this program some Black students began to experience in measure equality and intimacy for the first time with significant numbers of their White peers. Their uncertainties, ambivalence, and concerns have been indicated in this report, as well as their positive response when they found their acceptance to be genuine and open. On a small scale and in very special circumstances we have seen the fear and the hope as the races come more together toward that goal that Martin Luther King spoke of as "a democratic society in which Blacks and Whites can live together as brothers, where we will all come to see that integration is not a problem, but an opportunity to participate in the beauty of diversity".

Regarding evaluation of the results of compensatory education programs for disadvantaged students, we probably should be wary as to how far we attempt to generalize our findings. As has been shown, this program has many distinctive features which may limit the broad applicability of its results. But certainly it is made clear that without some systematic evaluation of results there can be only vague notions of the effectiveness and consequences of such programs. Our findings have been mixed, but certainly there was little evidence to indicate that this intensive and unusual program produced as large and uniform scholastic gains as was hoped. Some boys were able to make fine use of their new opportunities, and others were not. Generally the measurable scholastic results were somewhat disappointing. However it certainly appeared that much that is educationally significant and worthwhile in a broader sense was accomplished. In a variety of ways almost all the students in Project ABC said that their lives had been significantly altered, predominantly for the better. Very many expressed an appreciation of their new opportunities and a pride in their accomplishments that was convincing testimony that important things were happening. As we looked deeper we saw that the gains came at a price - the greater drive, assertiveness, autonomy and pride were accompanied by greater tension and worry. And increased awareness and articulateness seemed to come from social marginality and the acute awareness of difference. In these respects it seemed clear that the boys' lives were altered and significantly affected.

Objectivity, detachment, and scepticism are a necessary part of the business of research and careful evaluation. But beyond the statistics and percentages of data analysis, a conviction that something important has happened to these young men comes from hearing not just one, but many, say:

> "Tell them this is it! This is the break I needed. Tell them without this break and consideration I would have been a loser - I can't thank them enough!"

Though the total picture is mixed and complex, it was clear that for many boys it was a better chance and they used it well.

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APPENDIX A. SECONDARY SCHOOLS PARTICIPATING IN PROJECT ABC

INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS

The following are the 106 independent secondary schools participating in Project ABC as of fall 1968.

The 39 schools designated with an asterisk were those attended by the 82 Dartmouth ABC '65 students studied in this research.

Abbot Academy
Avon Old Farms School
Baldwin School
The Barlow School
Berkshire School
*Birch Wathen School
Blair Academy
Brooks School
Buxton School
Cambridge School of Weston
Canterbury School
Cate School
*Choate School
*Collegiate School
Colorado Academy
Colorado Rocky Mountain School
*Commonwealth School
Concord Academy
Cranbrook School
Cranwell School
Culver Military Academy
*Cushing Academy
Dana Hall School
*Darrow School
*Deerfield Academy
*Deveaux School
Emma Willard School
Ethel Walker School
*George School
*Governor Dummer Academy
*Groton School
*The Gunnery
*Hackley School
Miss Hall's School
Hebron Academy
The Hill School
*Hinckley School
Holderness School
*Hotchkiss School
The Hun School of Princeton
*Kent School for Boys
Kent School for Girls
*Kimball Union Academy
Kiskiminetas Springs School
Lake Forest Academy
Lawrence Academy
*Lawrenceville School
*Lenox School
The Loomis School
MacDuffie School for Girls
The Masters School
Maumee Valley Country Day School
*Mercersburg Academy
Middlesex School
Millbrook School
*Milton Academy
Milton Academy Girls' School
Monson Academy
The Mountain School
*Mount Hermon School
*The New Hampton School
*Noble and Greenough School
Northampton School for Girls
Northfield School
Oakwood School
*The Peddie School
*Phillips Andover Academy
*Phillips Exeter Academy
*Pomfret School
Portsmouth Priory School
The Putney School
Riverdale Country Day School
Robert Louis Stevenson School
St. Andrew's School
*St. George's School
St. John's Preparatory School
*St. Mark's School
St. Mary's School
St. Mary's-in-the-Mountains
*St. Paul's School
Salisbury School
Shattuck School

APPENDIX A. Participating Secondary Schools (cont.)

Shipley School
*Solebury School
South Kent School
Sterling School
Storm King School
*Suffield Academy
Tabor Academy
*Taft School
*Tilton School
*Verde Valley School
Vermont Academy
Walnut Hill School
Waynflete School
*Western Reserve Academy
Westminster School
Westover School
Westtown School
Whiteman School
*Wilbraham Academy
Windsor Mountain School
*Woodstock Country School
Wooster School
Worcester Academy
Wyoming Seminary

PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The following are the 8 public school systems participating in Project ABC as of fall 1968.

Amherst, Massachusetts
Andover, Massachusetts
Appleton, Wisconsin
Hanover, New Hampshire
Lebanon, New Hampshire
North Andover, Massachusetts
Northfield, Minnesota
White River Junction, Vermont

APPENDIX B. STATISTICS ON PROJECT ABC STUDENTS

TABLE 1. NUMBER OF ENTERING STUDENTS, ALL PROGRAMS, 1964-68

YEAR	SUMMER PROGRAM	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTALS	DESTINATION AND FUNDING
1964:	Dartmouth	55	0		All 63 to attend independent schools; all 63 privately funded.
	Direct	4	4		
		59	4	63	
1965:	Dartmouth	82	0		All 201 to attend independent schools; 101 privately funded and 100 federally funded.
	Mt. Holyoke	0	70		
	Direct	39	10		
		121	80	201	
1966:	Dartmouth	75	0		With 415 to attend independent schools and 10 public schools; 125 privately funded and 300 federally funded.
	Mt. Holyoke	0	70		
	Carleton	40	30		
	Duke	75	0		
	Williams	75	0		
	Direct	40	20		
		305	120	425	
1967:	Dartmouth	60	0		With 215 to attend independent schools and 10 public schools; 175 privately funded and 50 federally funded.
	Carleton	30	25		
	Williams	60	0		
	Direct	35	15		
		185	40	225	
1968:	Dartmouth	100	0		With 240 to attend independent schools and 65 public schools; 245 privately funded and 60 federally funded.
	Carleton	70	30		
	Williams	100	0		
	Direct	2	3		
		272	33	305	
FIVE-YEAR TOTALS:					
1964-1968:	Dartmouth	372	0		With 1134 to attend independent schools and 85 public schools; 709 privately funded and 510 federally funded.
	Mt. Holyoke	0	140		
	Carleton	140	85		
	Duke	75	0		
	Williams	235	0		
	Direct	120	52		
		942	277	1219	

This table shows the total number of disadvantaged students provisionally accepted to enter secondary schools through all Project ABC programs during its first five years, 1964-68.

Students were provisionally accepted in the Spring for Fall admission conditional upon their successful completion of an 8-week ABC transitional program during the summer at the indicated colleges.

APPENDIX B. TABLE 1. (p. 2) Statistics on Project ABC Students (cont.)

Students designated "Direct" did not attend a summer program as it was felt they were sufficiently prepared to enter secondary school directly.

The figures are for students initially accepted and entering the various programs at the beginning of the summer - some dropped out or were not recommended before reaching the intended secondary school (summer attrition in the various programs was usually under 10%).

The table indicates the intended destination of the students (i.e. independent or public secondary schools) and their source of support (i.e. scholarship funds from private sources or federal Office of Economic Opportunity, OEO, funds).

APPENDIX B. STATISTICS ON PROJECT ABC STUDENTS

TABLE 2. RECORD OF ENTERING STUDENTS, ALL PROGRAMS, 1964-68

This table presents the cummulative record to January 1, 1969 of each entering ABC group (all programs) from 1964 to 1968.

ENTERING YEAR	APPLICATIONS TO PROGRAM	ACCEPTANCES TO PROGRAM	DROP-OUTS FROM PROGRAM	STILL CONTINUING AT SCHOOL	GRADUATED FROM SCHOOL	ACCEPTED TO COLLEGE
1964	125	63	9	2	52	51
1965	285	201	40	69	92	90
1966	1860	425	75	309	41	41
1967	1300	225	44	181	0	0
1968	900	305	15	290	0	0
TOTAL (All years combined)	4470	1219	183	851	185	182

Note: The drop-out figures include: students who left during the summer program, students who were not recommended to secondary school or chose not to attend, and students who left secondary school - i.e. all drop-outs for any reason.

APPENDIX B. STATISTICS ON PROJECT ABC STUDENTS

TABLE 3a. FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS OF DARTMOUTH ABC '65 STUDENTS

	OEO SUPPORTED (40 boys)			SCHOOL SUPPORTED (42 boys)			TOTAL GROUP (82 boys)		
	RANGE	MEDIAN	AVERAGE	RANGE	MEDIAN	AVERAGE	RANGE	MEDIAN	AVERAGE
Age (6/1/65)	12-16yrs.	14yrs.	13.8	13-16yrs.	14yrs.	13.9	12-16yrs.	14yrs.	13.9
Grade Completed	8-11th	9th	8.7	7-10th	9th	8.6	7-11th	9th	8.7
Father's Education (grade completed)	3-16th A.B.	11th	10.6	6-20th M.D.	11th	11.5	3-20th M.D.	11th	11.0
Mother's Education (grade completed)	4-16th A.B.	11th	10.5	3-16th A.B.	12th	11.4	3-16yrs. A.B.	11th	11.0
Family Income	0-$6,000 Welfare	$3,842	$3,190	0-$8,550 Welfare	$4,320	$4,581	0-$8,550 Welfare	$4,320	$3,885
Number of Dependent Children in Family	1-8	3	3.3	1-7	3	3.3	1-8	3	3.3

This table presents family background data for the 82 Dartmouth ABC boys who entered the program in the summer of 1965. Information came from the program application forms filled out by the boys' parents.

APPENDIX B. STATISTICS ON PROJECT ABC STUDENTS

TABLE 3b. FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS OF DARTMOUTH ABC '65 STUDENTS (cont.)

	OEO SUPPORTED (40 boys)	SCHOOL SUPPORTED (42 boys)	TOTAL GROUP (82 boys)
Students Coming From Broken Homes	43%	33%	38%
Fathers: Did Not Graduate Grade School	17%	14%	16%
Fathers: Did Not Graduate High School	63%	54%	59%
Fathers: Attended College	10%	21%	16%
Fathers: Graduated College	7%	11%	9%
Mothers: Did Not Graduate Grade School	19%	3%	12%
Mothers: Did Not Graduate High School	61%	34%	49%
Mothers: Attended College	13%	21%	17%
Mothers: Graduated College	3%	10%	6%
Families With No Income (Welfare) or Income Under $3,000.	35%	24%	29%
Families With Income Over $6,000.	0%	31%	16%
Geographical Distribution of Students:			
New York City	42%	41%	41%
Other Northeast	23%	26%	24%
South	23%	19%	21%
Midwest	5%	5%	5%
Plains	7%	9%	9%

This table presents family background data for the 82 Dartmouth ABC boys who entered the program in the Summer of 1965. Information came from the program application forms filled out by the boys' parents.

APPENDIX B. STATISTICS ON PROJECT ABC STUDENTS

TABLE 4. COLLEGE ADMISSIONS OF DARTMOUTH ABC '65 STUDENTS, 1965-68

As of Fall 1968, the beginning of their fourth year in the program, the following were the statistics for the 82 Dartmouth ABC '65 boys:

21	dropped from program (26%)
34	continuing in independent schools (41%)
27	attending college (33%)

The 27 boys were attending the following 20 colleges:

Brown University

California Institute of Technology

Carleton College

Columbia University

University of Chicago

University of Connecticut

Dartmouth College - (5 boys)

Dickenson College

Duke University

Hobart College

Lawrence College

Lindenwood College

Los Angeles City Junior College

New York University - (3 boys)

Oberlin College

University of Pennsylvania

InterAmerican University of Puerto Rico

Tufts University - (2 boys)

Washington and Jefferson College

Yale University

APPENDIX C. DATA ANALYSIS ON DARTMOUTH ABC '65 STUDENTS

TABLE 1a. TWO-YEAR CHANGES ON INTELLIGENCE AND ACHIEVEMENT TESTS: ENTIRE ABC GROUP

	ABC GROUP MEANS				INTERPRETATION
	Initial	Follow-up	Change	p	
INTELLIGENCE TEST					
Otis Self-Administering Test of Mental Ability, Higher Examination: form A initially; form B follow-up. N=77 boys, I.Q. scores.	114.3	113.3	-1.0	n.s.	No significant change in intelligence test scores ("I.Q.").
ACHIEVEMENT TEST					
ETS 1960 Cooperative English Test: form 2A initially; form 2B follow-up. N=73 boys. Percentile scores					
Vocabulary	76.5	79.3	+2.8	.078	Tendency toward increase on Vocabulary
Level of Comprehension	77.0	77.9	+1.0	n.s.	No significant change
Speed of Comprehension	75.0	73.0	-2.0	n.s.	" " "
Expression	70.0	73.9	+3.9*	.049	Significant increase on "English Expression" percentile scores, measuring ability to select appropriate English usage and discover incorrect usage.
Total Reading	77.3	77.2	-0.2	n.s.	No significant change
Total English	74.8	77.4	+2.6	n.s.	" " "

APPENDIX C.
TABLE 1a. Changes on Intelligence & Achievement Tests: Entire ABC Group (p. 2)

Based on data of all ABC boys (77 for Otis and 73 for Coop English tests) out of a possible 82 who took the tests at both: 1) time of application to the program, and 2) time of two-year follow-up study. Includes all ABC boys retested, whose forms were scorable. The Otis group of 77 included 12 out of 16 "drop-outs" and 65 out of 65 boys still attending independent schools. The Coop group of 73 included 8 out of 16 "drop-outs" and 64 out of 65 boys still attending independent schools.

The Otis scores are based on the age-appropriate norms tables of "I.Q." scores in the test manual.

The Cooperative English scores use the mid-percentile ranks for the appropriate grade-level from the ETS tables of norms based on very large national U.S. samples of public high school students.

Significance levels (2-tailed test) are designated: *$p<.05$ - Significant change
**$p<.01$ - Very significant change
***$p<.001$ -Highly significant change

APPENDIX C. DATA ANALYSIS ON DARTMOUTH ABC '65 STUDENTS

TABLE 1b. TWO-YEAR CHANGES ON INTELLIGENCE AND ACHIEVEMENT TESTS: ABC SUB-SAMPLE AND MATCHED CONTROLS

	ABC SUB-SAMPLE MEANS				CONTROL GROUP MEANS				INTERPRETATION
	Initial	Follow-up	Change	P	Initial	Follow-up	Change	P	of initial differences and changes
INTELLIGENCE TEST									
Otis Self-Administering Test of Mental Ability Higher Examination: form A initially, form B follow-up. N=23 matched pairs of boys, I.Q. scores.	112.7	112.3	-0.3	n.s.	111.9	108.6	-3.3**	.006	Control group had a very significant decrease in I.Q. scores.
ACHIEVEMENT TEST									
ETS 1960 Cooperative English Test: form 2A initially; form 2B follow-up. N=18 matched pairs of boys. Percentile scores									
Vocabulary	82.7b	79.3	-3.4	n.s.	67.9b	68.0	+0.1	n.s.	ABC very significantly higher initially.
Level of Comprehension	80.6	72.4	-8.2	.092	82.6	77.3	-5.3	.068	Both groups tend to decrease.
Speed of Comprehension	76.5	68.4	-8.0	n.s.	76.6	72.5	-4.2	n.s.	

APPENDIX C
TABLE 1b. Changes on Intelligence & Achievement Tests: ABC & Controls (p. 2)

	ABC SUB-SAMPLE				CONTROL GROUP MEANS				INTERPRETATION
	Initial	Follow-up	Change	p	Initial	Follow-up	Change	p	of initial differences and changes
Expression	73.0	73.0	0.0	n.s.	61.7	60.8	-0.9	n.s.	
Total Reading	84.0b	78.6	-5.4	.094	70.1b	67.7	-2.4	n.s.	ABC very significantly higher initially. ABC tends to drop.
Total English	80.4b	77.8	-2.6	n.s.	65.8b	67.6	+1.8	n.s.	ABC very significantly higher initially.

Based on data of a sub-sample of ABC and matched controls who took alternate forms of the Otis Test of Mental Ability and the ETS 1960 Cooperative English Test at: 1) time of application to the program and 2) time of two-year follow-up study.

The boys were matched on race, age, and initial Otis intelligence score. All boys were currently enrolled in secondary schools at the time of the follow-up retesting: the ABC boys in independent schools, the control boys in public schools. Thus the samples include only boys who remained either in the independent schools or their local schools - i.e. no "drop-outs". All 23 pairs of students took both tests, but 5 of the Coop tests were unscorable reducing the number to 18 matched pairs for that test.

Any significant initial differences between the ABC sub-sample and the control group are designated by letter in the respective columns:
a. Significant initial difference, $p<.05$
b. Very significant initial difference, $p<.01$
c. Highly significant initial difference, $p<.001$

Significance levels (2-tailed test) of changes are designated:
*$p<.05$ - Significant change
**$p<.01$ - Very significant change
***$p<.001$ - Highly significant change

APPENDIX C. DATA ANALYSIS ON DARTMOUTH ABC '65 STUDENTS
TABLE 2a. TWO-YEAR CHANGES ON CATTELL "HSPQ" PERSONALITY INVENTORY: ENTIRE ABC GROUP

HSPQ FACTOR SCALE	ABC GROUP MEANS 77 boys, form A				INTERPRETATION
	Initial	Follow-up	Change	p	
A. Reserved *vs*. Outgoing	10.9	12.1	+1.1*	.019	Significant change toward "Outgoing, warmhearted, easy-going,participating, (Cyclothymia)".
B. Less Intelligent *vs*. More Intelligent	7.7	8.3	+0.6***	<.001	Highly significant change toward "More intelligent, abstract-thinking, bright, (Higher scholastic mental capacity)". (Age - related increase.)
C. Affected by Feelings *vs*. Emotionally Stable	11.1	9.8	-1.2**	.009	Very significant change toward "Affected by feelings, emotionally less stable, easily upset, (Lower ego strength)."
D. Phlegmatic *vs*. Excitable	10.0	9.9	-0.1	n.s.	
E. Obedient *vs*. Assertive	9.2	9.5	+0.4	n.s.	
F. Sober *vs*. Happy-go-lucky	9.6	11.0	+1.4**	.001	Very significant change toward "Happy-go-lucky, heedless, gay, enthusiastic, (Surgency)".
G. Disregards Rules *vs*. Conscientious	12.5	12.3	-0.2	n.s.	
H. Shy *vs*. Venturesome	11.5	10.3	-1.2*	.011	Significant change toward "Shy, restrained, diffident, timid, (Threctia)".

APPENDIX C

TABLE 2a. Changes on HSPQ:
Entire ABC Group (p. 2)

HSPQ FACTOR SCALE	ABC GROUP MEANS 77 boys, form A Initial	Follow-up	Change	P	INTERPRETATION
I. Tough-Minded vs. Tender-Minded	9.9	9.9	0.0	n.s.	
J. Vigorous vs. Doubting	8.4	8.2	-0.2	n.s.	
O. Self-Assured vs. Apprehensive	8.8	10.5	+1.7***	<.001	Highly significant change toward "Apprehensive, worrying, depressive, troubled, (Guilt proneness)".
Q2, Group-Dependent vs. Self-Sufficient	10.2	10.3	0.0	n.s.	
Q3. Casual vs. Controlled	13.1	11.1	-2.0***	<.001	Highly significant change toward "Casual, careless of social rules, untidy, follows own urges, (Low self-concept control)".
Q4. Relaxed vs. Tense	8.1	9.7	+1.6***	<.001	Highly significant change toward "Tense, driven, overwrought, fretful (High ergic tension)".
Extraversion (2nd Order Factor)	40.2	42.1	+1.8	n.s.	
Anxiety (2nd Order Factor)	46.8	54.7	+7.9***	<.001	Highly significant change toward increased "Anxiety" on all interrelated measures.

APPENDIX C

TABLE 2a. Changes on HSPQ:
Entire ABC Group (p. 3)

Based on data of all 77 ABC boys (out of a possible 82) who took the R.B. Cattell High School Personality Questionnaire "HSPQ" (Form A) at both: 1) time of application to the program, and 2) time of two-year follow-up study. Includes all ABC boys retested: i.e. 12 out of 16 "drop-outs" and 65 out of 65 boys still attending independent schools.

Significance levels (2-tailed test) are designated:
*$p < .05$ - Significant change
**$p < .01$ - Very significant change
***$p < .001$ - Highly significant change

APPENDIX C. DATA ANALYSIS ON DARTMOUTH ABC '65 STUDENTS

TABLE 2b. TWO-YEAR CHANGES ON CATTELL "HSPQ" PERSONALITY INVENTORY: ABC SUB-SAMPLE AND MATCHED CONTROLS

	ABC SUB-SAMPLE MEANS 22 boys, form A				CONTROL GROUP MEANS 22 boys, form A				INTERPRETATION of initial differences and changes
HSPQ FACTOR SCALE	Initial	Follow-up	Change	P	Initial	Follow-up	Change	P	
A. Reserved vs. Outgoing	11.3	12.7	+1.4	.073	9.7	11.0	+1.2	.093	ABC tended to be more "Outgoing" initially. Both groups tended to change toward more "Outgoing".
B. Less Intelligent vs. More Intelligent	7.8	8.5	+0.8**	.001	7.2	7.8	+0.6	.061	ABC group had very significant change and Control tended toward "More intelligent".
C. Affected by Feelings vs. Emotionally Stable	11.1	8.9	-2.3*	.042	9.9	9.4	-0.5	n.s.	ABC group had significant change toward "Affected by feelings".
D. Phlegmatic vs. Excitable	10.3	10.7	+0.4	n.s.	11.5	10.5	-1.1	n.s.	
E. Obedient vs. Assertive	8.2	8.7	+0.5	n.s.	9.4	11.0	+1.6*	.013	Control group had a significant change toward "Assertive".
F. Sober vs. Happy-go-lucky	10.0	10.5	+0.5	n.s.	10.7	11.0	+0.3	n.s.	
G. Disregards Rules vs. Conscientious	12.5	12.0	-0.4	n.s.	11.5	12.1	+0.6	n.s.	
H. Shy vs. Venturesome	11.4	10.1	-1.3	n.s.	9.6	9.0	-0.6	n.s.	

APPENDIX C

TABLE 2b. Changes on HSPQ:
ABC & Controls (p. 2)

HSPQ FACTOR SCALE	ABC SUB-SAMPLE MEANS 22 boys, form A Initial	Follow-up	Change	P	CONTROL GROUP MEANS 22 boys, form A Initial	Follow-up	Change	P	INTERPRETATION of initial differences and changes
I. Tough-minded vs. Tender-minded	9.5	9.9	+0.4	n.s.	9.2	8.9	-0.3	n.s.	
J. Vigorous vs. Doubting	8.1	7.9	-0.2	n.s.	8.4	8.4	0.0	n.s.	
O. Self-Assured vs. Apprehensive	8.3a	10.9	+2.6**	.007	10.3a	10.7	+0.4	n.s.	ABC significantly more "Self-Assured" initially. ABC had highly significant change toward more "Apprehensive".
Q2. Group-Dependent vs. Self-Sufficient	9.1a	9.7	+0.6	n.s.	10.6a	11.0	+0.3	n.s.	ABC significantly more "Group Dependent" initially.
Q3. Casual vs. Controlled	13.3	11.3	-2.0**	.008	11.5	11.3	-0.2	n.s.	ABC tended to be more "Controlled" initially. ABC had a highly significant change toward "Casual".
Q4. Relaxed vs. Tense	8.6	10.3	+1.7*	.034	8.8	9.0	+0.2	n.s.	ABC had a significant change toward "Tense".
Extraversion (2nd Order Factor)	42.0	42.8	+0.8	n.s.	38.5	38.9	+0.4	n.s.	
Anxiety (2nd Order Factor)	47.5	57.5	+10.0**	.003	55.9	56.1	+0.2	n.s.	ABC tended to be less "Anxious" initially. ABC had a highly significant change toward more "Anxiety".

APPENDIX C
TABLE 2b. Changes on HSPQ:
ABC & Controls (p. 3)

Based on data of a sub-sample of 22 ABC boys and 22 matched controls who took the R.B. Cattell High School Personality Questionnaire "HSPQ" (Form A) at both: 1) time of application to the program, and 2) time of two-year follow-up study.

The boys were matched on race, age, and initial Otis intelligence score. All boys were currently enrolled in secondary schools at the time of the follow-up retesting: the ABC boys in independent schools, the control boys in public schools. Thus the samples include only boys who had remained either in the independent schools or their local schools, i.e. no "drop-outs".

Any significant initial differences between the ABC sub-sample and the control group are designated by letter in the respective columns:
a. Significant initial difference, $p < .05$
b. Very significant initial difference $p < .01$
c. Highly significant initial difference $p < .001$

Significance levels (2-tailed test) are designated:
*$p < .05$ Significant change
**$p < .01$ Very significant change
***$p < .001$ Highly significant change

APPENDIX C. DATA ANALYSIS ON DARTMOUTH ABC '65 STUDENTS

TABLE 3. TWO-YEAR CHANGES ON GOUGH "CPI" PERSONALITY INVENTORY: ENTIRE ABC GROUP

	ABC GROUP MEANS 75 boys				INTERPRETATION
CPI SCALE	Initial	Follow-up	Change	P	
I. MEASURES OF POISE, ASCENDANCY AND SELF ASSURANCE					
1. Dominance (Do)	26.1	26.1	+0.1	n.s.	
2. Capacity for Status (Cs)	15.8	17.1	+1.3**	.008	Very significant increase on "Capacity for Status" assessing "attributes which underlie and lead to status" (e.g. ambitious, versatility, ascendancy, etc.)
3. Sociability (Sy)	24.2	24.0	-0.2	n.s.	
4. Social Presence (Sp)	32.3	34.5	+2.3**	.003	Very significant increase on "Social Presence" assessing "poise, spontaneity, and self-confidence in personal and social interaction."
5. Self-acceptance (Sa)	20.4	21.3	+0.9*	.028	Significant increase on "Self-acceptance" assessing "sense of personal worth, self acceptance, and capacity for independent thinking and action".
6. Sense of Well-being (Wb)	30.5	31.5	+1.0	n.s.	
II. MEASURES OF SOCIALIZATION, MATURITY, AND RESPONSIBILITY					
7. Responsibility (Re)	28.0	27.7	-0.3	n.s.	

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Table 3. Changes on CPI:
Entire ABC group (p. 2)

CPI SCALE	ABC GROUP MEANS 75 boys Initial	Follow-up	Change	P	INTERPRETATION
8. Socialization (So)	37.4	35.9	-1.5*	.020	Significant decrease on "Socialization" assessing "degree of social maturity, integrity, and rectitude". (i.e. movement toward traits of defensive, resentful, headstrong, rebellious, undependable, etc.)
9. Self-control (Sc)	23.7	21.7	-2.0*	.014	Significant decrease on "Self-control" assessing "degree and adequacy of self-control and freedom from impulsivity and self-centeredness". (i.e. movement toward traits of impulsive, excitable, irritable, uninhibited, assertive, etc.)
10. Tolerance (To)	15.7	16.8	+1.1*	.033	Significant increase on "Tolerance" assessing "permissive, accepting, and non-judgmental social beliefs and attitudes".
11. Good Impression (Gi)	14.7	14.1	-0.7	n.s.	
12. Communality (Cm)	25.1	25.0	0.0	n.s.	
III. MEASURES OF ACHIEVEMENT POTENTIAL AND INTELLECTUAL EFFICIENCY					
13. Achievement via Conformance (Ac)	24.9	23.7	-1.1*	.025	Significant decrease on "Achievement via Conformance" assessing "factors of interest and motivation which facilitate achievement in any setting where conformance is a positive behavior." (i.e.

APPENDIX C
Table 3. Changes on CPI:
Entire ABC group (p. 3)

CPI SCALE	ABC GROUP MEANS 75 boys Initial	Follow-up	Change	p	INTERPRETATION
					movement toward traits of stubborn, aloof, disorganized under pressures to conform, etc.)
14. Achievement via Independence (Ai)	13.8	16.7	+2.9***	<.001	Highly significant increase on "Achievement via Independence" assessing "factors of interest and motivation which facilitate achievement in any setting where autonomy and independence are positive behaviors".
15. Intellectual Efficiency (Ie)	34.3	35.4	+1.1	n.s.	
IV. MEASURES OF INTELLECTUAL AND INTEREST MODES					
16. Psychological-mindedness (Py)	9.8	9.5	-0.3	n.s.	
17. Flexibility (Fx)	8.0	9.8	+1.8***	<.001	Highly significant increase on "Flexibility" assessing "degree of flexibility and adeptability of a person's thinking and social behavior".
18. Feminity (Fe)	17.5	17.5	+0.[illegible]	n.s.	

APPENDIX C
Table 3. Changes on CPI:
Entire ABC group (p. 4)

Based on data of all 75 ABC boys (out of a possible 82) who took the H.G. Gough California Psychological Inventory "CPI" at both: 1) time of entrance into the program, and 2) time of two-year follow-up study. Includes all ABC boys retested: i.e. 10 out of 16 "drop-outs" and 65 out of 65 boys still attending independent schools.

Significance levels (2-tailed test) are designated:
*<.05 Significant change
**<.01 Very significant change
***<.001 Highly significant change

APPENDIX C. DATA ANALYSIS ON DARTMOUTH ABC '65 STUDENTS
TABLE 4a. TWO-YEAR CHANGES ON G-S-Z INTEREST SURVEY: ENTIRE ABC GROUP

G-S-Z INTEREST SCALE	ABC GROUP MEANS 77 boys Initial	Follow-up	Change	P	INTERPRETATION
1. Artistic: Appreciative	14.2	16.0	+1.8	n.s.	
2. Artistic: Expressive	18.4	21.1	+2.7*	.019	Significant increase in "Artistic: Expressive" interests in participation in artistic activities and vocations: music, drama, art and design.
3. Linguistic: Appreciative	17.2	18.8	+1.6	n.s.	
4. Linguistic: Expressive	17.8	19.2	+1.4	n.s.	
5. Scientific: Investigatory	25.9	23.5	-2.4	n.s.	
6. Scientific: Theoretical	27.5	21.4	-6.1***	<.001	Highly significant decrease in "Scientific: Theoretical" interests in activities and vocations involving highly abstract scientific theorizing and conceptualization.
7. Mechanical: Manipulative	21.6	18.4	-3.2*	.023	Significant decrease in "Mechanical: Manipulative" interests in activities and vocations involving operation of tools and machinery.
8. Mechanical: Designing	25.6	23.4	-2.3	n.s.	

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Table 4a. Changes on
G-S-Z: Entire ABC Group (p. 2)

	ABC GROUP MEANS 77 boys				INTERPRETATION
G-S-Z INTEREST SCALE	Initial	Follow-up	Change	p	
9. Outdoor: Natural	14.5	13.3	-1.2	n.s.	
10. Outdoor: Athletic	21.9	23.1	+1.2	n.s.	
11. Business-Political: Merchantile	14.5	17.8	+3.3*	.043	Significant increase in "Business-Political: Merchantile" interests in activities and vocations of an entrepreneurial and financial nature.
12. Business-Political: Leadership	14.6	17.0	+2.4	n.s.	
13. Social Activity: Persuasive	13.7	15.6	+1.9	n.s.	
14. Social Activity: Gregarious	16.5	19.9	+3.4**	.002	Very significant increase in "Social Activity: Gregarious" interests in activities and vocations involving considerable social contact and interaction.
15. Personal Assistance: Personal Service	14.8	14.8	-0.1	n.s.	
16. Personal Assistance: Social Welfare	18.1	20.5	+2.3	.099	Tendency toward increased interest in "Social Welfare" activities.
17. Office Worker: Clerical	13.1	10.3	-2.8*	.032	Significant decrease in "Office Worker: Clerical" interests in activities and

APPENDIX C
Table 4a. Changes on
G-S-Z: Entire ABC Group (p. 3)

G-S-Z INTEREST SCALE	ABC GROUP MEANS 77 boys Initial	Follow-up	Change	p	INTERPRETATION
					vocations involving routine clerical operations and office procedures.
18. Office Worker: Numerical	15.8	13.3	-2.5	.093	Tendency toward decreased interest in routine numerical operations.

Based on data of all 77 ABC boys (out of a possible 82) who took the Guilford-Shneidman-Zimmerman Interest Survey at both: 1) time of application to the program, and 2) time of two-year follow-up study. Includes all ABC boys retested: i.e. 12 out of 16 "drop-outs" and 65 out of 65 boys still attending independent schools.

The G-S-Z Interest Survey has 20 items in each of the 18 interest areas. In this analysis vocational preferences were weighted "2" and hobby preferences were rated "1". Thus the scores in an interest area could range from 0 to 60.

Significance levels (2-tailed test) are designated: $^{*}p<.05$ Significant change
$^{**}p<.01$ Very significant change
$^{***}p<.001$ Highly significant change

APPENDIX C. DATA ANALYSIS ON DARTMOUTH ABC '65 STUDENTS

TABLE 4b. TWO-YEAR CHANGES ON G-S-Z INTEREST SURVEY: ABC SUB-SAMPLE AND MATCHED CONTROLS

G-S-Z INTEREST SCALE	ABC SUB-SAMPLE MEANS 23 boys Initial	Follow-up	Change	P	CONTROL GROUP MEANS 23 boys Initial	Follow-up	Change	P	INTERPRETATION of initial differences and changes
1. Artistic: Appreciative	9.5	13.3	+3.8*	.049	12.4	15.7	+3.3	n.s.	ABC had a significant increase.
2. Artistic: Expressive	14.9	19.8	+5.0*	.033	17.8	21.5	+3.7	n.s.	ABC had a significant increase.
3. Linguistic: Appreciative	13.0	19.8	+6.7**	.006	14.6	17.0	+2.3	n.s.	ABC had a very significant increase.
4. Linguistic: Expressive	11.8	16.4	+4.7	n.s.	18.8	23.7	+4.9	n.s.	Control tended to be higher initially.
5. Scientific: Investigatory	22.6	23.4	+0.8	n.s.	26.2	28.9	+2.7	n.s.	
6. Scientific: Theoretical	26.3	23.3	-3.0	n.s.	25.4	30.4	+5.0	n.s.	
7. Mechanical: Manipulative	20.0	18.9	-1.1	n.s.	22.3	21.5	-0.8	n.s.	
8. Mechanical: Designing	24.5	24.4	0.0	n.s.	24.1	25.1	+1.0	n.s.	
9. Outdoor: Natural	10.0	11.5	+1.5	n.s.	15.3	14.5	-0.8	n.s.	Control tended to be higher initially.
10. Outdoor: Athletic	19.6	22.0	+2.4	n.s.	23.4	25.9	+2.5	n.s.	

APPENDIX C
Table 4b. Changes on G-S-Z:
ABC & Control (p. 2)

G-S-Z INTEREST SCALE	ABC SUB-SAMPLE MEANS 23 boys				CONTROL GROUP MEANS 23 boys				INTERPRETATION of initial differences and changes
	Initial	Follow-up	Change	p	Initial	Follow-up	Change	p	
11. Business-Political: Merchantile	11.1	15.7	+4.7	n.s.	13.0	15.1	+2.0	n.s.	
12. Business-Political: Leadership	12.2	15.9	+3.7	n.s.	13.3	15.7	+2.3	n.s.	
13. Social Activity: Persuasive	11.2	12.2	+1.0	n.s.	12.2	15.8	+3.6	.093	Control tends to increase.
14. Social Activity: Gregarious	15.3	18.3	+3.0	n.s.	16.7	20.0	+3.3	.072	Control tends to increase.
15. Personal Assistance: Personal Service	11.9	14.1	+2.2	n.s.	15.7	16.3	+0.7	n.s.	
16. Personal Assistance: Social Welfare	14.6	18.3	+3.7	n.s.	19.1	20.7	+1.7	n.s.	
17. Office Worker: Clerical	11.5	10.4	-1.1	n.s.	12.4	12.7	+0.3	n.s.	
18. Office Worker: Numerical	15.8	12.5	-3.3	n.s.	14.5	18.3	+3.9	n.s.	

Based on data of a sub-sample of 23 ABC boys and 23 matched controls who took the Guilford-Shneidman-Zimmerman Interest Survey at: 1) time of application to the program, and 2) time of two-year follow-up study.

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Table 4b. Changes on G-S-Z
ABC & Controls (p. 3)

The boys were matched on race, age, and Otis intelligence score. All boys were currently enrolled in secondary schools at time of the follow-up retesting: the ABC boys in independent schools, the control boys in public schools. Thus the samples include only boys who had remained either in the independent schools or their local schools - i.e. no "drop-outs".

There were no statistically significant initial differences between the ABC sub-sample and the control groups. Those initial differences that tend to approach significance (i.e. $.05 < p < .10$) are indicated above.

Significance levels of changes (2-tailed test) are designated:
*$p < .05$ -Significant change
**$p < .01$ -Very significant change
***$p < .001$ -Highly significant change

APPENDIX 5 TABLE 5

APPENDIX C. DATA ANALYSIS ON DARTMOUTH ABC '65 STUDENTS

TABLE 5. CORRELATIONS OF INTELLIGENCE AND ACHIEVEMENT TESTS WITH TWO-YEAR FOLLOW-UP RATINGS OF ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE AND SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

	INITIAL TEST SCORES			CORRELATIONS W. FOLLOW-UP RATINGS				INTERPRETATION
	Mean	S.D.	Range	Academ. Perf.	Academ. Potent.	Academ. Motiv.	Social Adjust.	
INTELLIGENCE TESTS								
Otis Self-Administering Test of Mental Ability, Higher Examination: Form A N = 80 boys, I.Q. scores	114.5	8.3	92-132	.40***	.52***	.19	.14	Otis I.Q. scores showed considerable range and averaged 1 S.D. above the general population norms. These initial Otis I.Q. scores correlated significantly with 2-year follow-up ratings of academic performance and potential.
Otis Quick-Scoring Mental Ability Tests, Gamma Test revised, Form Em, N = 82 boys, I.Q. scores.	116.7	9.6	89-142	.27*	.40***	.07	.00	"
R.B. & A.K.S. Cattell, IPAT, Culture Fair Intelligence Test, Scale 3, Forms A & B N = 80 boys, I.Q. scores	109.1	13.5	75-139	.29***	.37***	.18	.16	Culture Fair I.Q. scores showed significant correlations with academic performance and potential.

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TABLE 5. Correlations of Intelligence and Achievement Tests (P. 2)

	INITIAL TEST SCORES			CORRELATIONS W. FOLLOW-UP RATINGS				INTERPRETATION
	Mean	S.D.	Range	Academ. Perf.	Academ. Potent.	Academ. Motiv.	Social Adjust.	
ACHIEVEMENT AND ABILITIES TESTS								
ETS 1960 Cooperative English Test, form 2A N=81 boys, percentile scores.								
Vocabulary	77.4	18.1	10-99	.16	.20	.03	.10	Percentile scores on the Cooperative English Test showed considerable range and indicated ABC students averaged around the 75th percentile on national H.S. norms of English ability.
Level of Comprehension	77.7	18.2	29-98	.12	.15	-.02	-.07	
Spedd of Comprehension	76.1	20.6	29-99	.24*	.29**	.05	.07	
Expression	69.9	20.3	26-99	.44***	.40***	.22*	.09	There were a number of significant correlations with 2-year follow-up ratings of academic performance and potential.
Total Reading	78.3	17.8	19-99	.22*	.27*	.04	.09	
Total English	75.2	18.1	20-99	.34**	.35**	.14	.09	
ETS Secondary Schools Admissions Test (SSAT) N=42 boys, percentile scores.								
Reading Comprehension Independent School norms	37.1	23.4	2-91	.46**	.08	.45*	.29	On reading comprehension, ABC students averaged at the 74th percentile on national H.S. norms, and 37th percentile on independent school norms. The scores show significant correlations, with follow-up ratings.
National norms	74.1	18.0	18-99	.37*	.09	.33*	.19	

APPENDIX C

TABLE 5. Correlations of Intelligence and Achievement Tests (P. 3)

	INITIAL TEST SCORES			CORRELATIONS W. FOLLOW-UP RATINGS				INTERPRETATION
	Mean	S.D.	Range	Academ. Perf.	Academ. Potent.	Academ. Motiv.	Social Adjust.	
General School Ability Independent School Norms	36.3	19.4	3-85	.22	.40**	.08	-.03	On general school ability the ABC students averaged at the 84th percentile on national H.S. norms, and 36th on independent school norms. The scores show significant correlations with follow-up ratings.
National norms	84.4	13.1	41-99	.17	.37*	.04	-.04	
Diagnostic Reading Test, Form B, (administered beginning of summer program) N=81 boys, independent school percentile norms.								
Rate	51.2	28.6	2-97	.28**	.36***	.18	.07	There was a wide range of reading ability. Most of the scores showed significant correlations with 2-year follow-up ratings of academic performance and potential.
Story Comprehension	50.6	25.9	2-94	.06	.11	-.04	.04	
Vocabulary	55.3	30.7	2-99	.24*	.43***	.08	-.03	
Paragraph Comprehension	46.0	30.3	1-94	.26*	.34**	.11	.11	
Total Comprehension	50.8	27.8	1-98	.21	.32**	.07	.09	
Total Reading	52.7	29.1	2-99	.28*	.44***	.07	.01	

APPENDIX C
TABLE 5. Correlations of Intelligence and Achievement Tests (P. 4)

	INITIAL TEST SCORES			CORRELATIONS W. FOLLOW-UP RATINGS				INTERPRETATION
	Mean	S.D.	Range	Academ. Perf.	Academ. Potent.	Academ. Motiv.	Social Adjust.	
Diagnostic Reading Test, Form C (administered end of summer program) N=80 boys, independent school percentile norms.								
Rate	85.7	17.8	27-99	.25*	.24*	.17	.16	There was a wide range of reading ability. Most of the scores showed significant correlations with 2-year follow-up ratings of academic performance and potential.
Story Comprehension	36.3	24.4	2-89	.10	.06	.03	.02	
Vocabulary	69.5	29.9	4-99	.40***	.51***	.13	.16	
Paragraph Comprehension	51.4	27.7	3-99	.38***	.42***	.20	.06	
Total Comprehension	45.3	27.6	2-99	.29**	.26*	.16	.07	
Total Reading	63.3	29.5	4-99	.48***	.53***	.22*	.18	

All correlations (except for Secondary School Aptitude Test) are based on data of at least 80 ABC boys (out of a possible 82) who took the tests either at time of application to the program or during the first summer. (The data include at least 14 out of 16 "drop-outs", 65 out of 65 boys still attending independent schools, and 1 graduate in college,- according to their eventual status at time of two-year follow-up).

The Secondary School Aptitude Test (SSAT) data is based on the 42 boys who took the test. (They included 7 of the 16 "drop-outs" and 35 of the 65 boys still attending independent schools at time of follow-up.)

The two-year follow-up ratings were made on 7-point scales filled out during consultation with the independent school staffs during a detailed review and evaluation of each student's two-year record at his school. The ratings were made on: 1) overall academic performance, 2) academic potential, 3) academic motivation and 4) general social adjustment to the school. The latter rating was also modified by information from the follow-up interview with the student.

Statistically significant correlations(2-tailed test)are designated:

*p<.05	Significant correlation
**p<.01	Very significant correlation
***p<.001	Highly significant correlation

APPENDIX C. DATA ANALYSIS ON DARTMOUTH ABC '65 STUDENTS

TABLE 6. CORRELATIONS OF CATTELL "HSPQ" PERSONALITY INVENTORY WITH TWO-YEAR FOLLOW-UP RATINGS OF ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE AND SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

HSPQ FACTOR SCALE	INITIAL TEST SCORES 82 boys, forms A & B			CORRELATIONS W. FOLLOW-UP RATINGS				INTERPRETATION
	Mean	S.D.	Range	Academ. Perf.	Academ. Potent.	Academ. Motiv.	Social Adjust.	of significant correlations
A. Reserved *vs.* Outgoing	22.8	6.4	3-37	.00	-.16	.06	.17	
B. Less Intelligent *vs.* More Intelligent	15.9	2.0	8-19	.26*	.31**	.17	.05	Negatively with (-) "less intelligent, concrete thinking." Positively with (+) "more intelligent abstract-thinking, bright".
C. Affected by Feelings *vs.* Emotionally Stable	22.1	6.2	3-36	.03	.03	.03	.02	
D. Phlegmatic *vs.* Excitable	18.1	6.6	2-33	-.04	.04	.00	.03	
E. Obedient *vs.* Assertive	17.0	4.3	8-27	-.17	.03	-.22*	-.10	Negatively with (+) "assertive, independent, aggressive, stubborn, (Dominance)". Positively with (-) "obedient, mild, conforming, (Submissiveness)".
F. Sober *vs.* Happy-go-lucky	19.6	5.6	8-32	-.22*	-.05	-.10	.11	Negatively with (+) "happy-go-lucky, heedless, gay, enthusiastic, (Surgency)".

APPENDIX C

TABLE 6. Correlations of HSPQ Personality Inventory (P. 2)

HSPQ FACTOR SCALE	INITIAL TEST SCORES 82 boys, forms A & B Mean	S.D.	Range	CORRELATIONS W. FOLLOW-UP RATINGS Academ. Perf.	Academ. Potent.	Academ. Motiv.	Social Adjust.	INTERPRETATION of significant correlations
								Positively with (-) "Sober, prudent, serious, taciturn (Desurgency)".
G. Disregards Rules vs. Conscientious	26.2	5.1	12-35	.15	.00	.13	.10	
H. Shy vs. Venturesome	22.6	6.5	8-36	-.09	-.04	-.03	.07	
I. Tough-minded vs. Tender-minded	20.3	5.2	8-30	.29**	.20	.26*	-.02	Negatively with (-) "Tough-minded, self-reliant, realistic, no-nonsense, (Harria)". Positively with (+) "Tender-minded, dependent, over-protected (Premsia)".
J. Vigorous vs. Doubting	16.9	4.6	4-28	.06	.02	.06	-.09	
O. Self-assured vs. Apprehensive	18.5	5.7	6-31	-.01	.10	-.11	-.08	
Q2 Group-dependent vs. Self-sufficient	18.9	4.2	9-27	.05	.03	.03	-.09	
Q3 Casual vs. Controlled	28.0	5.1	17-40	.16	.02	.17	.18	
Q4 Relaxed vs. Tense	17.5	6.0	6-32	-.09	.04	-.06	.01	

APPENDIX C

TABLE 6. Correlations of HSPQ Personality Inventory (P. 3)

HSPQ FACTOR SCALE	INITIAL TEST SCORES 82 boys, forms A & B			CORRELATIONS W. FOLLOW-UP RATINGS				INTERPRETATION of significant correlations
	Mean	S.D.	Range	Academ. Perf.	Academ. Potent.	Academ. Motiv.	Social Adjust	
Extraversion (2nd Order Factor)	40.6	10.5	11-62	-.14	-.10	-.02	.17	
Anxiety (2nd Order Factor)	44.4	17.3	12-92	-.06	.04	-.07	-.05	

Based on the data of all 82 ABC boys (out of a possible 82) who took the R.B. Cattell High School Personality Questionnaire "HSPQ" at time of application to program (Form A) and early during initial summer (Form B). Includes all ABC boys, (i.e. 16 out of 16 drop-outs, 65 out of 65 boys still attending independent schools, and 1 graduate in college, - according to their eventual status at time of two-year follow-up).

The two-year follow-up ratings were made on 7-point scales filled out during consultation with the independent school staffs during a detailed review and evaluation of each student's two year record at his school. The ratings were made on: 1) overall academic performance, 2) academic potential, 3) academic motivation, and 4) general social adjustment to the school. The latter rating was also modified, if necessary, by information from the follow-up interview with the student.

Statistically significant correlations (2-tailed test) are designated: *$p < .05$ Significant correlation
**$p < .01$ Very significant correlation
***$p < .001$ Highly significant correlation

APPENDIX C. DATA ANALYSIS ON DARTMOUTH ABC '65 STUDENTS

TABLE 7. CORRELATIONS OF GOUGH "CPI" PERSONALITY INVENTORY WITH TWO-YEAR FOLLOW-UP RATINGS OF ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE AND SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

CPI SCALE	INITIAL TEST SCORES 80 boys Mean	S.D.	Range	CORRELATIONS W. FOLLOW-UP RATINGS Academ. Perf.	Academ. Potent.	Academ. Motiv.	Social Adjust	INTERPRETATION of significant correlations
I. MEASURES OF POISE, ASCENDANCY, AND SELF-ASSURANCE								
1. Dominance (Do)	26.4	5.7	15-39	.09	.07	.09	.10	
2. Capacity for Status (Cs)	16.0	4.0	7-24	.11	.08	.14	.10	
3. Sociability (Sy)	24.4	5.2	13-33	-.07	-.04	.05	.13	
4. Social Presence (Sp)	32.3	5.2	20-45	-.11	-.07	-.03	.10	
5. Self-acceptance(Sa)	20.5	3.6	12-28	-.11	-.08	.03	.16	
6. Sense of Well-being (Wb)	30.8	6.1	13-42	.14	.07	.09	.04	
II. MEASURES OF SOCIALIZATION MATURITY, AND RESPONSIBILITY								
7. Responsibility (Re)	28.1	4.7	15-39	.25*	.23*	.15	.10	Negatively with (-) "Immature, lazy under-controlled, impulsive". Positively with (+) "Conscientious, responsible, and dependable".

APPENDIX C
TABLE 7. Correlations of
CPI Personality Inventory
(p. 2)

CPI SCALE	INITIAL TEST SCORES 80 boys Mean	 S.D.	 Range	CORRELATIONS W. FOLLOW-UP RATINGS Academ. Perf.	 Academ. Potent.	 Academ. Motiv.	 Social Adjust	INTERPRETATION of significant correlations
8. Socialization (So)	37.5	4.7	26-45	.12	.13	.08	.05	
9. Self-control (Sc)	24.3	8.6	7-42	.12	.07	.07	-.01	
10. Tolerance (To)	15.9	5.6	5-28	.10	.11	.05	-.05	
11. Good Impression (Gi)	15.3	7.1	1-32	.14	.08	.08	.07	
12. Communality (Cm)	25.0	2.8	16-28	.02	-.01	.04	.12	
III. MEASURES OF ACHIEVEMENT POTENTIAL AND INTELLECTUAL EFFICIENCY								
13. Achievement via Conformance (Ac)	25.0	5.1	14-34	.15	-.01	.14	.13	
14. Achievement via Independence (Ai)	14.0	4.3	4-23	.28**	.20	.22*	.08	Negatively with (-) "Inhibited, anxious, cautious, wary, conpliant". Positively with (+) "Foresighted, independent, self-reliant, autonomous".
15. Intellectual Efficiency (Ie)	34.5	6.1	18-45	.22*	.09	.25*	.17	Negatively with (-) "Confused, easy-going, shallow, unambitious".

APPENDIX C
TABLE 7. Correlations of CPI Personality Inventory (p. 3)

CPI SCALE	INITIAL TEST SCORES 80 boys			CORRELATIONS W. FOLLOW-UP RATINGS				INTERPRETATION
	Mean	S.D.	Range	Academ. Perf.	Academ. Potent.	Academ. Motiv.	Social Adjust.	of significant correlations
								Positively with (+) "Efficient, clear-thinking, capable, planful, thorough, resourceful, alert, well-informed, valuing intellectual matters".
IV. MEASURES OF INTELLECTUAL AND INTEREST MODES								
16. Psychological-mindedness (Py)	10.0	2.8	3-16	.13	.15	.06	.05	
17. Flexibility (Fx)	7.9	3.7	1-17	-.12	.15	-.23*	-.17	Negatively with (+) "Informal, adventurous, confident, humorous, rebellious, idealistic, assertive, egoistic, concerned with personal pleasure and diversion". Positively with (-) "Deliberate, cautious, worrying, industrious, quarded, mannerly, methodical, rigid, deferential to authority and tradition".
18. Femininity (Fe)	17.5	3.2	8-24	.09	.15	-.05	-.03	

APPENDIX C
TABLE 7. Correlations of
CPI Personality Inventory
(p. 4)

Based on the data of all 80 ABC boys (out of a possible 82) who took the H.G. Gough California Psychological Inventory "CPI" during initial summer. (Includes all then available ABC boys; i.e. 14 out of 16 "drop-outs", 65 out of 65 boys still attending independent schools, and 1 graduate in college, - according to their eventual status at time of two-year follow-up.)

The two-year follow-up ratings were made on 7-point scales filled out during consultation with the independent school staffs during a detailed review and evaluation of each student's two-year record at his school. The ratings were made on: 1) overall academic performance, 2) academic potential, 3) academic motivation and 4) general social adjustment to the school. The latter rating was also modified, if necessary, by information from the follow-up interview with the student.

Statistically significant correlations (2-tailed test) are designated:

$^{*}p<.05$	Significant correlation
$^{**}p<.01$	Very significant correlation
$^{***}p<.001$	Highly significant correlation

APPENDIX C. DATA ANALYSIS ON DARTMOUTH ABC '65 STUDENTS

TABLE 8. CORRELATIONS OF G-S-Z INTEREST SURVEY WITH TWO-YEAR FOLLOW-UP RATINGS OF ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE AND SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

G-S-Z INTEREST SCALE	INITIAL TEST SCORES 82 boys			CORRELATIONS W. FOLLOW-UP RATINGS				INTERPRETATION
	Mean	S.D.	Range	Academ. Perf.	Academ. Potent.	Academ. Motiv.	Social Adjust.	of significant correlations
1. Artistic: Appreciative	13.8	9.3	0-50	.15	-.16	.21	.10	
2. Artistic: Expressive	17.7	11.6	0-52	.13	-.16	.19	.15	
3. Linguistic: Appreciative	17.1	10.4	0-48	.23*	-.10	.29**	.17	Positively with "Linguistic: Appreciative" interests in activities and vocations involving reading and appreciation of literature.
4. Linguistic: Expressive	17.5	14.3	0-55	.16	-.13	.24*	.17	Positively with "Linguistic: Expressive" interests in activities and vocations involving writing and editing.
5. Scientific: Investigatory	25.6	14.6	0-58	.23*	.01	.20	.08	Positively with "Scientific: Investigatory" interests in activities and vocations in natural and social science research.
6. Scientific: Theoretical	27.1	14.6	0-59	.28*	.08	.31**	.14	Positively with "Scientific: Theoretical" interests in activities and vocations involving highly abstract scientific theorizing and conceptualization.

APPENDIX C
TABLE 8. Correlations of G-S-Z Interest Survey (p. 2)

G-S-Z INTEREST SCALE	INITIAL TEST SCORES 82 boys			CORRELATIONS W. FOLLOW-UP RATINGS				INTERPRETATION
	Mean	S.D.	Range	Academ. Perf.	Academ. Potent.	Academ. Motiv.	Social Adjust.	of significant correlations
7. Mechanical: Manipulative	21.1	12.9	0-53	.02	-.20	.05	.18	
8. Mechanical: Designing	24.9	15.1	0-59	.14	-.16	.18	.28*	Positively with "Mechanical: Designing" interests in activities and vocations involving design and engineering.
9. Outdoor: Natural	14.1	10.6	0-47	-.02	-.26*	.00	.06	Negatively with "Outdoor: Natural" interests in activities and vocations involving agriculture, farming, and animals.
10. Outdoor: Athletic	21.5	10.9	0-56	-.02	-.25*	.09	.22*	Academic potential negatively and social adjustment positively with "Outdoor: Athletic" interests in activities and vocations involving exercise, sports, and coaching.
11. Business-Political: Merchantile	14.2	12.5	0-45	-.08	-.30**	-.02	.03	Negatively with "Business-Political: Merchantile" interests in activities and vocations of an entrepreneurial and financial nature.

APPENDIX C
TABLE 8. Correlations of G-S-Z Interest Survey (p. 3)

G-S-Z INTEREST SCALE	INITIAL TEST SCORES 82 boys Mean	S.D.	Range	CORRELATIONS W. FOLLOW-UP RATINGS Academ. Perf.	Academ. Potent.	Academ. Motiv.	Social Adjust.	INTERPRETATION of significant correlations
12. Business-Political: Leadership	14.6	12.4	0-46	-.02	-.27*	.09	.14	Negatively with "Business-Political: Leadership" interests in activities and vocations of a managerial, supervisory, leadership, or political nature.
13. Social Activity: Persuasive	13.7	11.7	0-43	.06	-.18	.11	.10	
14. Social Activity: Gregarious	16.7	9.1	0-46	-.10	-.28*	.06	.10	Negatively with "Social Activity: Gregarious" interests in activities and vocations involving considerable social contact and interaction.
15. Personal Assistance: Personal Service	14.6	9.7	0-48	.01	-.29**	.06	.16	Negatively with "Personal Assistance: Personal Service" interest in activities and vocations involving personal help and services (physical care, personal guidance, etc.)
16. Personal Assistance: Social Welfare	18.0	12.2	0-47	.01	-.29**	.09	.14	Negatively with "Personal Assistance: Social Welfare" interests in activities and vocations in welfare and community agencies.

APPENDIX C

TABLE 8. Correlations of G-S-Z Interest Survey (p. 4)

G-S-Z INTEREST SCALE	INITIAL TEST SCORES 82 boys Mean	S.D.	Range	CORRELATIONS W. FOLLOW-UP RATINGS Academ. Perf.	Academ. Potent.	Academ. Motiv.	Social Adjust.	INTERPRETATION of significant correlations
17. Office Worker: Clerical	12.6	12.9	0-48	-.01	-.32**	.09	.11	Negatively with "Office Worker: Clerical" interests in activities and vocations involving routine clerical operations and office procedures.
18. Office Worker: Numerical	15.1	13.7	0-51	.06	-.19	.11	.09	

Based on the data of all 82 ABC boys (out of a possible 82) who took the Guilford-Schneidman-Zimmerman Interest Survey at time of application to the program. (Includes all original ABC boys, i.e. 16 out of 16 "drop-outs", 65 out of 65 boys still attending independent schools, and 1 graduate in college, - according to their eventual status at time of two year follow-up.)

The G-S-Z Interest Survey has 20 items in each of the 18 interest areas. In this analysis vocational preferences were weighted "2" and hobby preferences were weighted "1". Thus the scores in an interest area could range from 0 to 60.

The two-year follow-up ratings were made on 7-point scales filled out during consultation with the independent school staffs during a detailed review and evaluation of each student's two-year record at his school. The ratings were made on: 1) overall academic performance, 2) academic potential, 3) academic motivation, and 4) general social adjustment to the school. The latter rating was also modified, if necessary, by information from the follow-up interview with the student.

Statistically significant correlations (2-tailed test) are designated:
*$p<.05$ Significant correlation
**$p<.01$ Very significant correlation
***$p<.001$ Highly significant correlation

APPENDIX C. DATA ANALYSIS ON DARTMOUTH ABC '65 STUDENTS

TABLE 9. CORRELATIONS OF INITIAL SUMMER RATINGS WITH TWO-YEAR FOLLOW-UP RATINGS OF ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE AND SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

	INITIAL SUMMER RATINGS 75 boys, by 4 raters			CORRELATIONS W. FOLLOW-UP RATINGS			
INITIAL SUMMER RATING TRAITS	Mean	S.D.	Range	Academ. Perf.	Academ. Potent.	Academ. Motiv.	Social Adjust.
I. SCHOLASTIC WORK AND ATTITUDES							
1. Poor concentration, inattentive (-) vs. Good concentration, attentive (+)	4.6	.9	2.5-6.7	.44***	.40***	.35**	.33**
2. Rarely involved in the work, generally coasting in most aspects (-) vs. Consistently involved in most aspects of the work, usually actively engaged (+)	4.7	.8	2.5-7.0	.43***	.28*	.39***	.28*
3. Little evidence of interest and involvement at any time (-) vs. Capable of keen interest and intense involvement (+)	4.8	.8	2.0-7.0	.48***	.46***	.36**	.31**
4. Unambitious, not really motivated toward scholastic success (-) vs. Truly ambitious, motivated toward scholastic success (+)	4.8	.8	2.5-6.5	.41***	.33**	.36**	.37**
5. Poor at abstractions and relationships(-) vs. Good at abstractions and seeing relationships (+)	4.6	.9	2.0-6.8	.32**	.53***	.12	.06
6. Forgets what taught (-) vs. Retains what taught (+)	4.5	.7	2.5-6.2	.27*	.32**	.18	.18

APPENDIX C
TABLE 9. Correlations of
Initial Summer Ratings (p. 2)

INITIAL SUMMER RATING TRAITS	INITIAL SUMMER RATINGS 75 boys, by 4 raters			CORRELATIONS W. FOLLOW-UP RATINGS			
	Mean	S.D.	Range	Academ. Perf.	Academ. Potent.	Academ. Motiv.	Social Adjust.
7. Inarticulate, cannot express ideas (in speech) (-) vs. Fluent, expresses ideas easily (in speech) (+)	4.4	.8	1.5-6.0	.18	.26*	.06	.22
8. Inarticulate, cannot express ideas (written work) (-) vs. Fluent, expresses ideas easily (written work) (+)	4.3	.8	2.3-5.8	.23*	.29*	.04	.14
9. Poor at applying ideas and principles, doesn't use what taught (-) vs. Good at applying ideas and principles,actively uses what taught (+)	4.4	.6	2.5-6.2	.32**	.33**	.14	.20
10. Disorganized, plans poorly (-) vs. Organized, budgets time well (+)	4.4	.9	2.0-6.5	.35**	.27*	.29*	.21
11. Conventional, unimaginative, routine (-) vs. Original, imaginative, novel (+)	4.5	.7	2.3-6.3	.44***	.49***	.25*	.17
12. Simple, unaware of subtlety, obtuse (-) vs. Complex, aware of subtlety and nuance, sees interrelationships (+)	4.4	.7	2.5-6.2	.37**	.46***	.15	.06
13. Needing direction, requiring cues and guidance (-) vs. Self-reliant, independent worker(+)	4.5	1.0	2.0-6.7	.38***	.38***	.28*	.21

APPENDIX C
TABLE 9. Correlations of
Initial Summer Ratings (p. 3)

INITIAL SUMMER RATING TRAITS	INITIAL SUMMER RATINGS 75 boys, by 4 raters			CORRELATIONS W. FOLLOW-UP RATINGS			
	Mean	S.D.	Range	Academ. Perf.	Academ. Potent.	Academ. Motiv.	Social Adjust.
14. Slow-paced, plodding, (-) vs. Fast-paced, quick (+)	4.2	.8	2.0-5.8	.27*	.38***	.08	.06
15. Low standards, satisfied to get by (-) vs. High standards, strives for excellence (+)	4.5	.8	2.7-6.5	.46***	.34**	.40***	.35**
16. Little effort (-) vs. Sustained effort (+)	4.8	.9	2.8-6.8	.41***	.22	.41***	.33**
17. Reluctant to change (-) vs. Tries to follow suggestions for improvement (+)	4.6	.7	2.2-6.2	.28*	.09	.34**	.39***
18. Disruptive, hinders others learning (-) vs. Cooperative, facilitates others learning (+)	4.7	.7	2.5-6.2	.23*	.02	.28*	.35**
19. Easily frustrated, quits readily (-) vs. Persistent, rallies and renews efforts (+)	4.6	.8	2.3-6.5	.44***	.32**	.36**	.39***
20. Erratic, variable performance (-) vs. Consistant, steady performance (+)	4.5	.9	1.7-6.5	.33**	.28*	.33**	.31**
21. Poor achievement relative to abilities, little progress (-) vs. Excellent achievement relative to abilities, outstanding progress (+)	4.4	.8	2.5-6.5	.46***	.30**	.39***	.33**

APPENDIX C

TABLE 9. Correlations of Initial Summer Ratings (p. 4)

INITIAL SUMMER RATING TRAITS	INITIAL SUMMER RATINGS 75 boys, by 4 raters			CORRELATIONS W. FOLLOW-UP RATINGS			
	Mean	S.D.	Range	Academ. Perf.	Academ. Potent.	Academ. Motiv.	Social Adjust.
22. OVERALL PREDICTION OF FUTURE SCHOLASTIC SUCCESS: Probable scholastic failure (-) vs. Probable outstanding scholastic achievement (+)	4.7	.8	2.5-6.8	.48***	.49***	.28*	.19
II. GENERAL PERSONALITY TRAITS AND CHARACTERISTICS							
23. Reserved, detached, aloof (-) vs. Outgoing, open, warm (+)	4.6	1.0	1.5-6.3	-.09	-.02	-.07	.26*
24. Unintelligent, dull (-) vs. Intelligent, bright (+)	5.0	.7	2.3-6.5	.32**	.46***	.08	.10
25. Immature, unstable, easily upset and unable to cope (-) vs. Mature, steady, resourceful (+)	4.6	.8	2.5-6.0	.20	.15	.18	.32**
26. Stodgy, inactive, phlegmatic (-) vs. Lively, active (+)	4.8	.8	2.5-6.5	-.01	.08	-.08	.23*
27. Submissive, passive, mild (-) vs. Dominant, forceful, assertive (+)	4.3	.8	2.5-6.3	.00	.23*	-.11	.09
28. Sober, serious, heavy (-) vs. Cheerful, bouyant, light-hearted(+)	4.6	.7	1.5-6.0	-.10	-.02	-.14	.21
29. Undependable, unreliable, irresponsible (-) vs. Dependable, conscientious, responsible (+)	4.9	.9	2.3-6.5	.25*	.11	.25*	.30**

APPENDIX C
TABLE 9. Correlations of
Initial Summer Ratings (p. 5)

INITIAL SUMMER RATING TRAITS	INITIAL SUMMER RATINGS 75 boys, by 4 raters			CORRELATIONS W. FOLLOW-UP RATINGS			
	Mean	S.D.	Range	Academ. Perf.	Academ. Potent.	Academ. Motiv.	Social Adjust.
30. Timid, withdrawn, cautious (-) vs. Venturesome, bold, spontaneous (+)	4.5	.8	2.3-6.3	.06	.21	-.07	.17
31. Tough-minded, hard, matter-of-fact (-) vs. Tender-minded, sensitive, gentle (+)	4.4	.6	3.0-5.8	.02	.02	.02	.01
32. Socially detached, individualistic, non-participant (-) vs. Socially involved, enthusiastic group-participant (+)	4.3	.8	2.0-6.0	-.16	-.04	-.11	.28*
33. Worried, apprehensive, troubled (-) vs. Secure, confident (+)	4.2	.8	2.2-6.0	.09	.24*	-.07	.24*
34. Conforming, group-dependent, goes along with the group (-) vs. Independent, decides for himself (+)	4.5	.7	2.8-5.8	.12	.29*	-.02	.01
35. Undisciplined, lax (-) vs. Disciplined, ordered, self-controlled (+)	4.6	.9	2.0-6.3	.28*	.16	.26*	.28*
36. Tense, driven, high strung (-) vs. Relaxed, easy (+)	4.3	.7	2.2-5.5	.08	.02	-.07	.30**
37. Inconsiderate, insensitive to others (-) vs. Considerate, sensitive to others (+)	4.5	.7	2.0-6.0	.05	-.01	.10	.29*
38. Inflexible, rigid (-) vs. Flexible, adaptable (+)	4.3	.6	2.0-6.0	.16	.11	.16	.34**

APPENDIX C

TABLE 9. Correlations of
Initial Summer Ratings (p. 6)

INITIAL SUMMER RATING TRAITS	INITIAL SUMMER RATINGS 75 boys, by 4 raters Mean	S.D.	Range	CORRELATIONS W. FOLLOW-UP RATINGS Academ. Perf.	Academ. Potent.	Academ. Motiv.	Social Adjust.
39. Unaware, few interests, limited (-) vs. Aware, many interests, broad (+)	4.4	.7	2.7-6.2	.23*	.36**	.10	.23*
40. Rebellious, uncooperative (-) vs. Reasonable, cooperative (+)	4.9	.7	2.8-6.5	.19	.14	.21	.31**
41. Fragile, soft, physically weak (-) vs. Robust, physically strong (+)	4.5	.8	2.0-6.2	-.18	-.09	-.14	.17
42. Evasive, false, dishonest (-) vs. Forthright, truthful, honest (+)	5.0	.7	2.8-6.5	.19	.09	.23*	.34**
43. Drifting, apathetic, unambitious (-) vs. Striving, directed, ambitious (+)	4.7	.8	2.5-6.3	.36**	.31**	.29*	.37**
44. Sloppy, messy, poorly groomed (-) vs. Neat, tidy, well-groomed (+)	4.8	.7	2.5-6.2	.02	.05	-.06	-.04
45. Unsure, indecisive, vacillating (-) vs. Sure, decisive (+)	4.4	.8	2.5-5.8	.17	.25*	.06	.22
46. Ignored, slighted, disparaged, ridiculed by peers (-) vs. Respected, looked-up-to, admired by peers (+)	4.5	.8	2.8-6.3	.06	.09	.01	.31**
47. Unpopular, disliked by peers (-) vs. Popular, well-liked by peers (+)	4.6	.8	2.7-6.0	-.03	-.06	.02	.39***

APPENDIX C
TABLE 9. Correlations of
Initial Summer Ratings (p. 7)

INITIAL SUMMER RATING TRAITS	INITIAL SUMMER RATINGS 75 boys, by 4 raters Mean	S.D.	Range	CORRELATIONS W. FOLLOW-UP RATINGS Academ. Perf.	Academ. Potent.	Academ. Motiv.	Social Adjust.
48. Ill mannered, impolite, tactless (-) *vs*. Well-mannered, polite, tactful (+)	5.1	.7	3.2-6.5	.09	.06	.11	.29*
49. Ugly, homely, unattractive (-) *vs*. Handsome, good looking, attractive (+)	4.7	.7	3.0-6.3	-.12	.02	-.23*	-.11
50. Ill at ease, awkward, socially inept (-) *vs*. Poised, assured, polished (+)	4.5	.7	3.0-6.3	-.02	.19	-.10	.10
51. OVERALL EVALUATION OF PERSONAL QUALITIES: Minimal, discouraging lack of personal talents and strengths (-) *vs*. Outstanding, unusually fine personal talents and strengths (+)	4.9	.8	2.8-6.3	.18	.18	.13	.31**

There are two sets of separate ratings intercorrelated in the table: 1) the initial summer ratings by the ABC summer teaching staff and 2) the two-year follow-up ratings by the independent school teaching and administrative staffs.

The initial summer ratings were 51 seven-point trait ratings for each ABC boy made at the end of the first summer by the 4 ABC staff best acquainted with the boy's work and character during the initial eight-week summer program. The raters (different for each boy) were his: 1) English teacher, 2) Mathematics teacher, 3) Reading teacher and 4) Resident tutor. The "good-bad" poles of the traits were initially presented randomly, but have been rearranged here for ease of interpretation with the "positive" trait scored high. These mean rating scores potentially could range from 1.0 to 7.0.

These initial summer ratings were made on the 80 (of the original 82) ABC boys who completed the summer program. However, this table includes the data only of the 75 boys who were "Recommended" to go on to an independent school as only these boys also had the additional two-year follow-up ratings with the independent school staff. (Of these 75 boys at time of two-year follow-up, 9 were "drop-outs", 65 were continuing in independent schools, and 1 was in college.)

APPENDIX C

TABLE 9. Correlations of Initial Summer Ratings (p. 8)

The two-year follow-up ratings were made on 7-point scales filled out during consultation with the independent school staffs during a detailed review and evaluation of each student's two year record at his school. The ratings were made on: 1) overall academic performance, 2) academic potential, 3) academic motivation and 4) general social adjustment to the school. The latter rating was also modified if necessary by information in the follow-up interview with the student.

Statistically significant correlations (two-tailed test) are designated:

*$p < .05$	Significant correlation
**$p < .01$	Very significant correlation
***$p < .001$	Highly significant correlation

APPENDIX D. INTERVIEW SCHEDULES

SCHEDULE 1. INTERVIEW WITH ABC STUDENTS AT END OF FIRST SUMMER

Boy: ______________________________

Date: ______________________________

Introductory Comments:

As you know, I am interested in finding out what has been happening to the boys in Project ABC and what they think about it all. So I am going to ask you questions about what has happened and how you feel about it. What you as an individual say is just between the two of us. The important thing is for you to tell me how you really feel about things. I want to know what you think is good and what you think is not so good about the way things have been going for you so far in Project ABC. I also want to ask you some questions about your own plans — what they have been in the past and what you'd like to do in the future.

Home and Family:

First, I'm going to ask you some questions about your family and home town.

1. Do you live with both your parents? (If no), with whom do you live then?
2. Since you were born, has your father been around home most of the time, or was he away a lot of the time? That is, have you seen a lot of him or just a little?
3. Is he still living? (If no), how old were you when he died?
4. Where was your father born
5. How far did he go in school?
6. What does he do for a living?
7. Does he work most of the time, or are there times he doesn't have a job?
8. How do you feel about the kind of work he does and sort of life he has had?
9. Since you were born, has your mother been around home most of the time, or was she away a lot of the time? That is, did you see a lot of her or just a little?
10. Who took care of you most of the time?
11. Is your mother still living? (If no), how old were you when she died?
12. Where was your mother born?
13. How far did she go in school?
14. Does she sometimes work outside the house? What does she do? Is she away a lot?
15. How do you feel about the kind of life she has had?
16. Do you have any older brothers or sisters? How old are they and what do they do?
17. Do you have any younger brothers or sisters? How old are they?

18. Besides your father or mother, is there some relative or friend who has been very important in your life?

Community:

19. Where do you live? What is the town or neighborhood you live in like?
20. What are some of the things you like about it?
21. What are the things you don't like about your neighborhood and wish could be changed?
22. Are there problems that are hard for a lot of the boys growing up around you? What are they?

School and ABC:

23. What do you think about the school you were in last year? What things did you like most about it?
24. What did you dislike about it?
25. How do you feel about leaving your old school and going to preparatory school in the fall? Are you glad or do you have some regrets or questions?
26. How did you hear about Project ABC? Who told you about it, and what did they say?
27. What did you think about Project ABC, when you first heard about it? Did you want to try for it right away or did someone (who?) have to convince you to apply?
28. Did most of the people around you encourage you to apply to ABC, or did some people seem to be against it? Who and why?
29. How did you feel when you first found out you were accepted to the Dartmouth ABC program? Can you remember what you thought?
30. Can you remember what you thought and felt at the very beginning, during your first few days here this summer? Please tell me about it.
31. I'd like to know about how you've felt about your class work since you got settled into the routine here. Have you been satisfied or dissatisfied with your class work? What kinds of difficulties have you had with your work?
32. Is the teaching different from what you had in your old school? If so how?
33. How do you get on with your resident-tutor? What kind of a person would you say he is?
34. How do you get on with the other boys in your suite? Have you liked living in the suite or have you found it hard to take? Why?
35. Is there some person you've come to know this summer who you feel has been especially important to you? In what ways?
36. What do you think you'll probably remember and think about most from your summer here?
37. Would you say you've changed much since you've arrived? In what ways?

Plans and Preparatory School:

38. Over the last few years (before you knew you were coming to Project ABC) did you think much about the kind of job you would like to have eventually and what you'd like to do with your life? What did you most want to do?
39. What did you think your chances were? Did you feel you really could do that, or did you think you'd probably end up doing something different? What?
40. Have your plans changed at all since you found out you were in Project ABC? How and why? (College plans?)
41. What do you most look forward to next year in preparatory school?
42. What do you worry about most when you think about going on to prep school in the fall?
43. As you think everything over are there some things that you feel could be improved in the ABC program? Were there things you really disliked and hope could be changed? Or are there things you wish could have been done that weren't? What are they?

Fine, that's it for now. Thanks for your help. What you and the other boys tell me is very useful in letting us know what kind of a job we're doing so far. As you already know, we also want to follow all of you into the preparatory schools and find out how things are going - so I'll be talking with you again in a couple of years to see how you are doing. Good luck.

APPENDIX D. INTERVIEW SCHEDULES

SCHEDULE 2. TWO-YEAR FOLLOW-UP INTERVIEW WITH INDEPENDENT SCHOOL STAFF

Boy:____________________

School:____________________

Respondent:____________________

Position:____________________

Date: ____________________

Introductory Comments:

I hope you'll excuse the formality of an interview schedule, but I do need systematic data on all the ABC students. I want to be sure we cover most of the important questions. We'll go through a fairly full list of topics, but you should feel free to expand and bring things up that might otherwise be slighted. As I'm sure you know, my responsibility is the evaluation of Project ABC, its accomplishments and failures, - so I need to really know how things have been going for the boys. I'm very careful in protecting the confidential nature of the information and when I prepare the reports you can be sure that no specific boys or schools will be identified. What I'm hoping to be able to produce is a really full and candid assessment of Project ABC.

Academic Work and Performance:

1. With respect to his academic work, all things considered, would you say that the school has been pleased or displeased with (BOY's) performance? Why?
2. In terms of your customary school standards, by the criteria on which you judge all the boys' performance, where does he stand overall? What would his general record thus far be?

    7) Outstanding, excellent, A
    6) Very good, B+ or B
    5) Fairly good, above average, B- or C+
    4) Average, fair, C
    3) Below average, C- or D
    2) Nearly failing, barely pass, D-
    1) Failing, E

3. During his career here has he been given regular grade standings or placements for his age or has he been put in lower level classes? In which subjects? How far below usual grade level?
4. Has he failed or nearly failed any courses? What appear to be the reasons? What was done (special help, or placement, repeat course)? What was the outcome?

5. Does he have any outstanding subjects? Which ones?
6. How would you judge his academic potential and capacities relative to his peers here? i.e. how much intelligence, aptitude, and talent does he have relative to other students at (SCHOOL)?

    7) Excellent, outstanding potential (A)
    6) Very good (B+ or B)
    5) Above average, fairly good (C+ or B-)
    4) Average, fair (C)
    3) Low average (C- or D)
    2) Low (D-)
    1) Extremely low (E)

7. How would you say his progress has been relative to his abilities? How has his work been going over the past two years: improving, getting worse, or standing about even? Reasons?
8. How is his class participation? Is he generally active and involved, or is he inactive and withdrawn? How do other students seem to respond to him in class?
9. Do the teachers generally seem to be pleased or displeased with his class performance? Why?
10. How good does his homework and preparation seem to be? Is it thorough or careless? Steady or erratic? Does he appear to work and study more or less than average student here? About how many hours a day?
11. Does he ever show special initiative and interest in his work? Or is he apathetic and uninterested?
12. How would you rate his academic motivation compared to other students here? How much directed effort and organized work does he generally show in his school subjects?

    7) Outstanding: excellent motivation, unusual effort & dedication
    6) Very high: very good motivation, considerable diligence
    5) Above average: fairly good motivation, pretty diligent
    4) Average: fair motivation, average drive
    3) Low average: mildly motivated, occasional deficiencies in effort
    2) Low: rather deficient motivation, generally slight and uneven efforts
    1) Extremely low: unmotivated, or with only very low and sporadic efforts

13. Do there seem to have been any changes in his study and work habits during the last two years?
14. Does he have any special educational problems and difficulties?
15. Does he have any special talents or capacities?
16. Have his teachers found any particular rewards and satisfactions working with him? What?
17. Do you feel that this has been a worthwhile educational experience for him? Have his academic gains been commensurate with the effort that has gone into the program?

18. Do you feel that he is college material? Do you feel he can and should go on to college? What kind of a college? Where would you recommend him? At what level would you expect his performance to be?
19. As a result of your experience with this boy do you have any thoughts about the academic aspects of Project ABC? Are there things you think differently about as a result of your contact with him?

Extra-Curricular Activities:

20. Is he active in school clubs and extracurricular activities? What activities is he a member of? (Science clubs, Debating teams, Newspapers, Student government, etc.) If not active, why not?
21. Has he been an officer in any club or organization here? Has his position as an ABC boy seemed to influence this?
22. Does he appear to have developed much in the way of new interests since he came?

Sports and Athletics:

23. How are his athletic abilities? Is he well coordinated and energetic?
24. What sports does he regularly play?
25. Is he a member of any interscholastic teams? Has he received any letters? Has he been captain or co-captain of any team? Is he regarded as an outstanding player in any sport?
26. Have his sports activities helped or hindered him here? How?

Living Arrangements, Dormitory, Social Life:

27. How has he seemed to react to the setting and environment of (SCHOOL)? Have the location and surroundings produced any special problems for him?
28. How many students live in his dormitory or house? Has he seemed to like the arrangements and dormitory living?
29. Does he have any roommates? Where are they from and what is their family background (father's occupation, etc.)? Are they ABC or other scholarship students?
30. How has he gotten along with his roommates? Have there been any disagreements? Has he complained about his roommates or have they complained about him? About what?
31. Does his roommate appear to be a close friend? Have they ever visited each other on holidays or vacations?
32. How does he get along generally with the boys in his dormitory and in the school? Is he popular or disliked? Why?
33. Have there been any incidents with other students that have upset him or them? Any reports from one side or another of prejudice or discrimination?
34. Has he fitted in well with the other boys? Has he seemed to belong here or acted more like an outsider? Do you think he is and feels accepted?

35. Do you think there is a certain general type of boy that tends to come here and fit in best? Typical (SCHOOL) boy? If so, what is this typical student like? And how does (STUDENT) relate to this kind of boy and the image? Are there special pressures here (academic or social) and how does he react to them?
36. Has he made any close personal friends among the students here? How would you describe them, what kinds of boys are they?
37. Does he take in most of the dances and social activities at the school? How often? If not, why not?
38. How is his social life here? Does he have dates? How does this compare with other boys here? Has this created any special problems or difficulties for him?
39. Has he found it hard or easy to adjust here? What have been his biggest problems? Do you know of any serious difficulties or emotional upsets?
40. Has he related particularly closely to any of the teachers and staff? Have they helped him particularly? If so, how?
41. Do there appear to be any particular individuals here (either students or teachers) that he seems especially to respect and admire? Who and why?
42. Has lack of money, clothes, or other necessities been a problem for him here? Does he seem to have enough spending money?
43. Do you have any idea regarding how he feels about being a scholarship student?

Home and Family:

44. Have any members of his family visited the school? About how many times? How did he relate to them?
45. Does he go home regularly on holidays and vacations?
46. Does he seem to have any difficulties or problems adjusting from school to home, and back again?
47. Does he talk much about his family and home community? How does he seem to feel about them?
48. Are you aware of any changes in his attitudes toward his family? Have there been any family difficulties or problems that have affected his work and adjustment?
49. As a boy from a disadvantaged background how do you think he now relates to his origins? Do you feel he has an "identity problem"? How expressed?
50. Do you feel that he has changed much in the past two years? How? In what ways does he seem different? Are there any bad changes, things you don't like to see happening to him?
51. Are there any areas where you wish he would change? Rough edges, or bad characteristics?
52. Do his ideas about life and people seem much altered as a result of his coming here? Have his attitudes changed?
53. All things considered, how do you feel about the way Project ABC has affected his life? Has it been a good thing or a bad thing for him? Why?

54. With special regard to this boy, are there any things that you feel those of us involved in Project ABC should know and consider? Things that have troubled you or you've been thinking about the Program?

That's it as far as questions, unless there's more you want to add. Thanks for your help.

Note: For Drop-outs be sure to know by now the reasons for the drop-out: academic and social problems involved; how it was decided he was not to return; his reaction, etc. If don't have full picture ask more questions.

APPENDIX D. INTERVIEW SCHEDULES

SCHEDULE 3. TWO-YEAR FOLLOW-UP INTERVIEW WITH ABC STUDENTS AT INDEPENDENT SCHOOL (AND THOSE WHO LEFT)

Boy: ______________________

School: ______________________

Date: ______________________

Introductory Comments:

As you probably remember from our talks two years ago, my job is to find out how things have been going for all the Dartmouth ABC boys. Again I'll be asking you questions about what has happened to you and how you feel about it. I want to know how you really feel - what you honestly think - about the good and the bad of your experience in Project ABC and your school. What you tell me is strictly confidential and won't ever get back to anyone here at the school. My purpose is just to find out if Project ABC is really doing a good job. To find out I have to ask a lot of questions about what has happened to you, what you think about it, and what you're planning for the future.

Evaluation of Summer Program:

1. To begin, how well did the summer program at Dartmouth prepare you? Did it do a good job or a bad job in getting you ready for (SCHOOL)? Why?
2. Are there any changes that you'd suggest. Things that should or shouldn't be done during the summer ABC program?

Transition To Preparatory School:

3. When you first arrived at (SCHOOL) what did you think of it? Was it any different than you had expected? How?
4. Were there any things that disappointed you at first or you didn't like at the beginning?
5. When you first arrived here, were there any things that surprised and pleased you and you especially liked?

Academic Work and Performance:

6. How have you felt about the kind of school work they've given you here? Has it been hard or easy? How does it compare with what you had at your old schools at home?
7. Is the teaching here different from what you used to have at home? In what ways?
8. How do the teachers treat you and how do you feel about it? Are you treated just like other boys or do you feel you get special attention as an ABC boy?

APPENDIX D. SCHEDULE 3. (p.2)
2-Year Follow-up Interview w. ABC Students

9. In general, how have you felt about your grades and your own performance? Are you satisfied or dissatisfied? Are you doing better, or poorer, or about same as you expected? Reasons?
10. Are any subjects giving you trouble? Which ones and why?
11. Have you failed any subjects, or been close to failing? Why? What happened - did you get special help?
12. What subjects have you been doing best in?
13. Overall, how has your work been going over the past two years in preparatory school? Improving, getting worse or staying the same? Reasons?
14. How much do you participate in class? A lot, a little? Why? How do other students seem to react to what you say in class?
15. How much do you study a day? Does it seem that you study more or less than the average boy at this school?
16. How good or poor a student do you think you are compared with your classmates here? Are you near the top or near the bottom? How do you feel about it?
17. As far as school work and studies, what are the things in your favor? What kinds of things can you do well? Any special talents and abilities?
18. What are your weaknesses and difficulties in school work and studies? How serious are they?
19. Do you see any differences in your study and work habits from what they used to be? What are they?
20. Taking all these things we've been talking about into account, what is your evaluation of the kind of job you've been doing in your school work here up to the present?

Extra-Curricular Activities:

21. Outside of class, besides sports, what kinds of school clubs and extracurricular activities have you been involved in? What activities are you a member of and about how much time do you spend on them? (Science clubs, Debating teams, Newspapers, Student government, etc.) (or if not active, why not? Discover reasons.)
22. Have you been an officer in any school club or activity? Which ones?
23. Are there any offices in school clubs, activities, or student government that you would like and think you have a chance at? When it comes to being elected to offices do you think an ABC boy stands as good a chance as the other boys? Why?
24. Have any new interests developed since you came here, that you didn't have before?

Sports:

25. What sports have you regularly played here?
26. Have you been a regular member of any (SCHOOL) teams that play other schools? Have you won any school letters?
27. Have you been a captain or co-captain of any team here?
28. How do you feel about the school program in sports? Are there things you especially like or dislike?

APPENDIX D. SCHEDULE 3. (p.3)
2-Year Follow-up Interview w. ABC Students

Living Arrangements, Dormitory, and Social Life:

29. How do you like the location of (SCHOOL)? Do you feel its a good location for a school? What do you like and what don't you like about the town (or community)?
30. About how many students live in your dormitory or house? How do you like the living arrangements?
31. Do you have any roommates? How many? Where are they from and what do their families do? Are they ABC boys or other scholarship students?
32. How do you get along with your roommate? Have you had any arguments or disagreements? Are there any things you find hard to take living with him?
33. Do you consider your roommate to be a close friend? Why?
34. Have you ever visited your roommate's home on holidays or vacations and met his family? What did you think of them?
35. How have you gotten along generally with the boys in your dormitory and in the school? What things do you like about them and what things do you dislike?
36. Have any things ever happened with the other students that you disliked or that have upset you? What and when? Any signs of prejudice or discrimination?
37. How have you fitted in with the other boys? Have you felt you really belong here or have you felt more like an outsider? Why?
38. Do you feel there's a certain general type of boy that comes here and fits in best? How do you feel about this kind of person?
39. Have you made any close personal friends among the boys here? About how many? How would you describe them, what kinds of boys are they?
40. Have you visited any of the boys' homes on holidays or vacations? How long did you stay there and what did you do? How did you like it? Any problems?
41. Do you take in most of the dances and social activities here at the school? How often? If not, why not?
42. How is your social life at school? Do you have enough dates? Have you had any difficulties with dating here? Has this created any problems or difficulties for you?
43. Have you found it hard or easy to adjust here? Why? What have been your biggest problems?
44. How about the staff of the school - the teachers and masters - have you found any of them especially helpful? Who, and what did they do? Did you want more help from them or did you get what you needed?
45. Has there been any individual at this school (student or teacher) that you particularly admire or respect? Who and why?
46. Has money, or clothes or other necessities been a problem for you here? Do you lack things you really need? About how much spending money do you have a week?
47. How do you feel about being a scholarship student?

APPENDIX D. SCHEDULE 3. (p.4)
2-Year Follow-up Interview w. ABC Students

Home and Family:

48. Have members of your family visited (SCHOOL)? How many times? What did they say about it?
49. Do you write home regularly? How often?
50. How often do you get home to your family? Do you spend vacations with them?
51. How does it seem when you go home? Do you feel any different about your family and home?
52. Do you find it hard to adjust to the changes from prep school/to home, and back again? Are there any particular problems?
53. Does your family think you've changed? How do they feel about it? Have they said anything?
54. What about your old friends at home? Do you see much of them now? How do you get along with them?
55. How do things look to you in your home neighborhood? What do you feel about it?

Future Plans and Expectations, Changes:

56. Have you thought much recently about the kind of job you'd like to have eventually and what you'd like to do with your life? What do you most want to do or be?
57. How do you think chances are? Do you feel you really can do that or do you think you'll end up doing something different? What?
58. Have your plans changed at all since you have come to preparatory school? How and why?
59. Are you planning to go on to college? What colleges are you seriously considering?
60. Are there things you worry about when you think about your life in the future?
61. Do you feel you've changed much in the past two years? How? In what ways do you yourself feel different? Any bad changes, things you don't like happening to you?
62. Have your ideas about life and about people changed at all as a result of coming here?
63. All things considered, how do you feel about Project ABC and the way it has affected your life? Has it been a good thing or a bad thing as far as you personally are concerned? Why?
64. If you had a younger brother, would you want him to come here? Main reasons?
65. How about the other boys you know in ABC? How does it seem to you that things have been going for them?
66. Are there things that you feel those of us involved in ABC should know about and consider? Things that have troubled you or you've been thinking about the program?

Well, that's it. Thanks a lot. What you and the other ABC students tell us is very important to us. We're really concerned with finding out how things are going for all the students. I appreciate your help. Thanks and good luck.

APPENDIX D. INTERVIEW SCHEDULES

SCHEDULE 4. TWO-YEAR FOLLOW-UP INTERVIEW WITH ABC STUDENTS WHO LEFT INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS (additional questions following schedule 3)

Leaving School:

67. Looking back - what would you say were the main reasons for your leaving (SCHOOL)? How did you feel about leaving? Did you yourself, want to leave or did you have to leave? (Get details, including when left.)
68. Did you feel that the teachers and staff of the school did all they might have to try to keep you there? Were there any ways they disappointed you or let you down?
69. Did you have any feelings of having disappointed people at (SCHOOL)? Did it bother you then, and how do you feel now?
70. Was leaving (SCHOOL) an upsetting experience or didn't it bother you much? How did you feel about leaving? What bothered you most?
71. How do you now feel about (SCHOOL)? Looking back are you glad or sorry you went there? Why? Do you have any regrets?
72. Is there any kind of advice you wish you had been given before you came to ABC and went to preparatory school?

Returning to Community and Subsequent Schooling and Academic Work:

73. How did you feel coming back home after you had definitely left (SCHOOL)? Did you find it hard or easy to come back home?
74. When you came back home, did you start right back in school or were you out for awhile? Are you still continuing in school here (or have you graduated)?
75. I want to be sure I have the record straight. Last year after you left prep school what school did you attend? What are your plans for next year? (Schools, Addresses, Grade)
76. Have you been going to school regularly during the last two years or have you been out of school for any long period of time? Why? When do you expect to graduate from high school?
77. How have you been doing in school, this past year? What would you say your grade average was?
    7) Excellent, A
    6) Good, B
    5) Above Average, B-, C+
    4) Average, C
    3) Below Average C-, D+
    2) Poor, D
    1) Failing, E

78. In general, this past year how have you felt about your grades and your own performance? Are you satisfied or dissatisfied? Are you doing better, or poorer, or about same as you expected? Reasons.
79. Did you fail any subjects last year, or been close to failing? Why?

APPENDIX D. SCHEDULE 4. (p.2)

2-Year Follow-up Interview w. ABC Students Who Left School

80. What subjects did you do best in - get A's and B's?
81. Since you came back to school at home, how has your schoolwork been going? Improving, getting worse, or staying the same?
82. How does the schoolwork and teaching here at home compare with what you had at preparatory school? Do you find any differences?
83. How much do you study a day? Does it seem you study more or less than the average boy here?
84. How good a student do you think you are compared with your classmates? Are you near the top or bottom of your class here? How do you feel about it? Is your academic standing here any different than it was in prep school?
85. Do you see any differences in your study and work habits as a result of being at preparatory school or don't you think prep school made much difference?
86. Taking all of these things we've been talking about into account, what is your evaluation of the kind of job you've been doing in your schoolwork up to the present?

Subsequent Extracurricular Activities:

87. Outside of class, besides sports, what kinds of school clubs and extracurricular activities have you been involved in? What activities are you a member of and about how much time do you spend on them? (Science clubs, debating teams, newspapers, student government, etc.) (Or if not active, why not? Discover reasons.)
88. Have you been an officer in any school club or activity? Which ones?

Subsequent Sports:

89. Since coming back home, what sports have you regularly played?
90. Have you been a regular member of any high school teams? Have you won any school letters this past year? Have you been a captain or co-captain of any school team here?

Living Arrangements, Family Life, Social Life:

91. What are your parents' names, present address, and telephone?
92. Is this also your present address? (If different note it.)
93. Are you regularly living with your family? If not, with whom do you live? And how often do you see your parents?
94. During the past year has money or clothes or other necessities been a problem for you or your family? Do you lack things you really need?
95. Do you feel that since coming back that you personally have encountered much social discrimination or prejudice? Where and how? How did you feel about it?
96. How did you find it coming back to your old community and friends after being away at preparatory school? Were there any special reasons you were either glad or sorry to be back home?

Jobs, Work Experience:(esp. for complete DROP-OUTS from school)

97. Have you had any part-time or full time jobs during the past two years? What kind of work were you doing? How was the pay?

APPENDIX D. SCHEDULE 4. (p.3)
2-Year Follow-up Interview w. ABC Students Who Left School

Future Plans, Changes: (largely covered earlier, additional aspects)

98. Did leaving preparatory school make much of a difference in your plans for the future? How?

99. You left home and went away to ABC and prep school for a year, and then came back home again. How would you say this has affected you? Do you feel any different for being away and coming back? How would you say this has influenced your life?

Well, that's it. Thanks a lot. What you and the other boys tell us is very important. We're really concerned with how things are going for all the boys. I appreciate your help. Thanks and good luck.

APPENDIX D. INTERVIEW SCHEDULES

SCHEDULE 5. TWO-YEAR FOLLOW-UP INTERVIEW WITH ABC STUDENTS WHO ATTENDED SUMMER PROGRAM ONLY

Boy: ____________________

Location: ____________________

Date: ____________________

Introductory Comments:

As you may remember from our talk two years ago, my job is to find out how things have gone for all the boys who were at the Dartmouth ABC program. I want to ask you questions about what has happened to you since then and how you feel about it. I'd like to know how you really feel — what you honestly think about the good and bad of your experiences. What you tell me is strictly confidential. My purpose is to find out what has happened to all the ABC boys during the last two years. To help find out, I'll ask a lot of questions about what has happened to you, what you think about it, and what you're planning for the future.

Evaluation of Summer Program:

1. To begin, as you look back two years ago, what things stand out in your mind about the summer at Dartmouth? Do you have any special memories or feelings?
2. What things did you like best about the summer program?
3. What things did you like least?
4. (BOYS LEAVING OR SENT HOME EARLY): You didn't stay at Dartmouth for a whole summer. What would you say were the main reasons for your leaving before the end of the program?
   (BOYS NOT RECOMMENDED): At the end of the summer you were not recommended to go on to preparatory school. What would you say were the main reasons you weren't recommended? What did you think about not being recommended? How did you feel? Did it bother you much and for how long?
   (BOYS CHOOSING NOT TO GO): At the end of the summer, though you were recommended to go on to preparatory school, you didn't. What were the main reasons - why didn't you go? What do you think now - was it a good idea or bad idea not to go to prep school?
5. How do you feel now? Do you wish you had not gone to Dartmouth that summer or do you feel that you still got something worthwhile out of it? Why do you feel that way?

Return to Community and Subsequent Schooling and Academic Work:

6. That fall, how did you feel about going back to school at home, instead of preparatory school? Did your family, teachers or friends say anything to you about not going to preparatory school? What?

APPENDIX D. SCHEDULE 5. (p.2)

2-Year Follow-up w. Students Who Attended Summer Program Only

7. That first fall, after ABC, what school did you go to, and what grade were you in? Last year where did you go to school? What about next year? (Schools, Addresses, Grade.)
8. Have you been going to school regularly during the last two years or have you been out of school for any long period of time? Why? When do you expect to graduate from high school?
9. How have you been doing in school the last two years? What would you say your grade average was?

    7) Excellent, A
    6) Good, B
    5) Above Average B- to C+
    4) Average, C
    3) Below Average, C- to D+
    2) Poor, D
    1) Failing, E

10. In general, how have you felt about your grades and your own performance? Are you satisfied or dissatisfied? Are you doing better, or poorer, or about the same as you expected? Reasons?
11. Have you failed any subject, or been close to failing? Why?
12. What subjects have you been doing best in -- getting A's and B's?
13. How has your school work been going over the past two years: improving, getting worse, or staying the same? Reasons?
14. How much do you study a day? Does it seem you study more or study less than the average boy at your school?
15. How good or poor a student do you think you are compared with your classmates? Are you near the top or near the bottom of your class? How do you feel about it?
16. As far as school work and studies, what are the things in your favor? What kinds of things can you do well? Any special talents and abilities?
17. What are your weaknesses and difficulties in school work and studies? How serious are they?
18. Do you see any differences in your study and work habits from what they used to be? What are they?
19. Taking all these things we've been talking about into account, what is your evaluation of the kind of job you've been doing in your school work here up to the present?

Extra-curricular Activities:

20. Outside of class, besides sports, what kinds of school clubs and extracurricular activities have you been involved in? What activities are you a member of and about how much time do you spend on them? (Science clubs, Debating teams, Newspapers, Student government, etc.) (Or if not active, why not? Discover reasons.)
21. Have you been an officer in any school clubs or activity? Which ones?
22. Have any new interests developed in the last two years that you were not interested in before?

APPENDIX D. SCHEDULE 5. (p.3)
2-Year Follow-up w. Students Who Attended Summer Program Only

Sports:

23. What sports have you regularly played?
24. Have you been a regular member of any high school teams? Have you won any school letters? Have you been a captain or co-captain of any school team?

Living Arrangements, Family Life, Social Life:

25. What are your parents name, present address and telephone?
26. Is this also your present address? (If different, note it:)
27. Are you regularly living with your family? If not, with whom do you live? How often do you see your parents?
28. During the past two years, has money or clothes or other necessities been a problem for you or your family? Do you lack things you really need?
29. Do you feel that in the last couple of years that you personally have encountered much social discrimination and prejudice? Where and how? How did you feel about it?
30. How do things look to you in your home neighborhood? How do you feel about it?

Jobs, Work Experience:(especially for complete DROP-OUTS from school)

31. Have you had any part-time or full-time jobs during the past two years? What kind of work were you doing? How was the pay?

Future Plans and Expectations, Chances:

32. Have you thought much recently about the kind of job you'd like to have eventually and what you'd like to do with your life? What do you most want to do or be?
33. How do you think your chances are? Do you feel you really can do that or do you think you'll end up doing something different? What?
34. Have your plans changed at all in the last two years, since you were at ABC? How and why?
35. Are you planning to go on to college? What colleges are you seriously considering?
36. Are there things you worry about when you think about your life in the future?
37. Do you feel you've changed much in the past two years? How? In what ways do you feel youreelf different? Any bad changes, things that you don't like happening to you?
38. Have your ideas about life and about people changed at all in the last two years?
39. All things considered, how do you now feel about Project ABC and the way it affected your life? Did it have much effect on you, and was it a good thing or bad thing as far as you personally were concerned? Why?
40. Are there things that you feel that those of us involved in ABC should know about and consider? Things that have troubled you and that you've been thinking about the program?

Thanks a lot. What you tell us is very important. We're concerned with how things are going for all the boys. Thanks and good luck.

APPENDIX D. INTERVIEW SCHEDULES

SCHEDULE 6. TWO-YEAR FOLLOW-UP INTERVIEWS WITH INFORMANTS IN HOME COMMUNITY REGARDING ABC STUDENTS WHO LEFT PROGRAM

Boy: ______________________

Orig. Prep. Sch.: ______________________

Home School: ______________________

Respondent : ______________________

Position : ______________________

Rel. to Boy: ______________________

Date: ______________________

I hope you'll excuse the formality of an interview schedule, but I am trying to gather systematic data on all the students who participated in Project ABC. I want to be sure we cover some of the important questions and you should feel free to expand and bring up anything you feel I should know. My responsibility is to evaluate for Dartmouth College, the U.S. Office of Education, and for Project ABC itself - how the program has been doing. We want to be aware of its accomplishments and failures. So I am attempting to do a full and objective follow-up on all of the boys who were at Project ABC two summers ago. We need to know how things have really been going for all these boys. I'm very careful in protecting the confidential nature of the information and when I prepare the reports you can be sure that no specific boys or schools will be identified. I'm hoping to produce a really full and candid assessment of Project ABC.

Reasons for Leaving Project ABC:

1. Of course I already know some of the story, but would appreciate knowing what an informed person in the home community can contribute as to the reasons why (BOY) wasn't able to continue in Project ABC. What do you understand to be the main reasons he didn't continue in preparatory school?
   Was he unhappy in the program - why? Academic problems? Social problems?
   Pressures from family or friends to return?

APPENDIX D. SCHEDULE 6. (p.2)
2-Year Follow-up w. Home Community Informants

Return Home:

2. Do you know how he felt about coming back home? Did he want to, or accept it well, or was he upset? Any obvious emotional responses. Any problems with family or friends about returning home?

Subsequent Academic Career, Future Plans:

3. Did he continue his schooling on his return home? Where, and how has he been doing? Does it appear he will graduate?
4. Do you know what he is planning to do in the future? Is he planning to go on to college? How are his chances?

Changes:

5. In your contact with him, have you seen any changes that you would attribute to his experience in Project ABC and preparatory school? What are they?
6. All things considered, how do you feel about the way Project ABC has affected his life. Has it been a good or a bad thing for him? Why?

That's it as far as questions, unless there's more you want to add. Thanks for your help.

APPENDIX E. STAFF RATING FORM ON STUDENT CHARACTERISTICS

DIRECTIONS: It is hoped that these ratings will be made carefully - with a review in your mind of the kinds of events or situations in which the student may have shown the particular characteristics or attitudes. Try to recall particular occurences and make the best generalization you can from your own experience with the boy. Try to make each rating independent of your previous ratings - though some of these scales may sound a bit redundant there is often evidence to suggest there are important, if subtle, differences. Try to avoid global kinds of "good-bad" judgments and the implicit (and varying) theories most of us have about what goes with what in personal dispositions. Instead, take each set of traits as they come and make your judgment just on those polar descriptions - recognizing that individuals can be marvelously inconsistent.

We would like the following groups to rate the following boys:

ABC classroom teachers: Rate every boy that you have regularly in your classes.

Resident-tutors: Rate every boy that lives in your suite.

In making the ratings there is a genuine problem as to the proper reference group. It seems wisest to try to rate the ABC boys relative to the general student population in the kinds of schools they will be entering. If you have taught in an independent school, try to compare the boy with the kinds of students you have had there. If you have taught in a public high school, try to compare him with the general impressions you have of able college preparatory students. The resident-tutors should probably think of the kinds of students they knew in their own schools. Also try to make the judgments relative to the boy's own age group - on some of the traits we would expect more from the older boys.

These ratings can only be approximate estimates - but if all the raters tend to indicate certain salient traits in a boy it can be very valuable information. It is expected that most of the scales will not be extreme for most boys - but when you are finished you might check to see if your more extreme ratings really seem to characterize him. If you feel that something important has been missed please add your comments. Of course, some individuals may be inconspicuous in almost every regard.

HOW TO FILL OUT SCALES: Please rate each set of traits by circling the number indicating your overall impression of the boy. If you have serious doubts about a rating, use a question mark (rather than a circle) on your best estimate.

Please make only one circle per set and don't skip any. If you feel any items are poor do your best anyway and then note the problem.

Evaluate the boys relative to the general population of able college preparatory students in good schools. Roughly the ratings should have the following meanings:

"1" or "7" - Extreme (Very markedly so)
"2" or "6" - Very High (Much more than average)
"3" or "5" - Somewhat (A bit more than average)
"4" - Intermediate (Just about average or evenly mixed)

RATING FORM:

STUDENT: ____________________
RATED BY: ____________________
DATE: ____________________

I. SCHOLASTIC WORK AND ATTITUDES - Based primarily on behavior in class, homework, study habits, and attitudes toward school work and assignments.

Teachers should concentrate on the boy's work in your subject.

Resident-tutors should concentrate on the boy's general study habits.

		Extreme			Intermed.			Extreme	
1.	Good concentration, attentive	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Poor concentration, inattentive
2.	Rarely involved in the work, generally coasting in most aspects	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Consistently involved in most aspects of the work, usually actively engaged
3.	Capable of keen interest and intense involvement (Need not necessarily be sustained or in all topics)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Little evidence of interest and involvement at any time
4.	Truly ambitious motivated toward scholastic success	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Unambitious, not really motivated toward scholastic success
5.	Poor at abstractions and relationships	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Good at abstractions and seeing relationships
6.	Retains what taught	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Forgets what taught
7.	Inarticulate, cannot express ideas (in speech)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Fluent, expresses ideas easily (in speech)
8.	Inarticulate, cannot express ideas (written work)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Fluent, expresses ideas easily (written work)
9.	Good at applying ideas and principles, actively uses what taught	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Poor at applying ideas and principles, doesn't use what taught
10.	Organized, budgets time well	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Disorganized, plans poorly

11.	Conventional, unimaginative, routine	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Original, imaginative, novel
12.	Complex, aware of subtlety and nuance, sees interrelationships	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Simple, unaware of subtlety, obtuse
13.	Self-reliant, independent worker	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Needing direction, requires cues and guidance
14.	Slow-paced, plodding (Rate not necessarily quality)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Fast-paced, quick (Rate not necessarily quality)
15.	High standards, strives for excellence	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Low standards, satisfied to get by
16.	Little effort	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Sustained effort
17.	Tries to follow suggestions for improvement	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Reluctant to change
18.	Cooperative, facilitates others learning	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Disruptive, hinders others learning
19.	Easily frustrated, quits readily	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Persistent, rallies and renews efforts
20.	Consistent, steady performance	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Erratic, variable performance
21.	Poor achievement relative to abilities, little progress	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Excellent achievement relative to abilities, outstanding progress

OVERALL PREDICTION OF FUTURE SCHOLASTIC SUCCESS (after 2 yrs. at preparatory school)

22.	Probably scholastic failure	1 E	2	3	4 C	5	6	7 A	Probably outstanding scholastic achievement

II. GENERAL PERSONALITY TRAITS AND CHARACTERISTICS - Based on your total impressions of the boy in all the settings you have seen him.

23.	Reserved, detached, aloof	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Outgoing, open, warm
24.	Unintelligent, dull	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Intelligent, bright
25.	Immature, unstable easily upset and unable to cope	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mature, steady, resourceful
26.	Stodgy, inactive, phlegmatic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Lively, active
27.	Submissive, passive, mild	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Dominant, forceful, assertive
28.	Sober, serious, heavy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Cheerful, bouyant, lighthearted
29.	Undependable, unreliable, irresponsible	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Dependable, conscientious, responsible
30.	Timid, withdrawn, cautious	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Venturesome, bold, spontaneous
31.	Tough-minded, hard, matter-of-fact	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Tender-minded, sensitive, gentle

32.	Socially involved, enthusiastic group participant	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Socially detached, individualistic, non-participant
33.	Secure, confident	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Worried, apprehensive, troubled
34.	Conforming, group-dependent, goes along with the group	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Independent, decides for himself
35.	Undisciplined, lax	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Disciplined, ordered, self-controlled
36.	Relaxed, easy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Tense, driven, high strung
37.	Inconsiderate, insensitive to others	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Considerate, sensitive to others
38.	Flexible, adaptable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Inflexible, rigid
39.	Aware, many interests, broad	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Unaware, few interests, limited
40.	Rebellious, uncooperative	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Reasonable, cooperative
41.	Robust, physically strong	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Fragile, soft, physically weak
42.	Evasive, false, dishonest	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Forthright, truthful, honest
43.	Drifting, apathetic unambitious	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Striving, directed, ambitious
44.	Neat, tidy, well-groomed	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Sloppy, messy, poorly groomed
45.	Unsure, indecisive, vacillating	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Sure, decisive
46.	Ignored, slighted, disparaged, ridiculed (by peers)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Respected, looked-up-to, admired (by peers)
47.	Popular, well-liked (by peers)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Unpopular, disliked (by peers)
48.	Well mannered, polite, tactful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Ill mannered, impolite, tactless
49.	Ugly, homely, unattractive	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Handsome, good looking, attractive
50.	Ill at ease, awkward, socially inept	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Poised, assured, polished

OVERALL EVALUATION OF PERSONAL QUALITIES (at present)

51.	Minimal; discouraging lack of personal talents and strengths	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Outstanding, unusually fine personal talents and strengths